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ABSTRACT

This book is a political, cultural, economic, and historical analysis of the Filipino experience in Hawaii. In the first chapter an historical overview of the Philippines is found. The second chapter reviews the Filipino worker's role in the plantation system in Hawaii and details the immigration patterns of Filipinos to Hawaii from 1907 to 1929. Worker involvement in the labor movement is recounted in chapter three. Chapter four provides an analysis of the socioeconomic status of Filipinos in Hawaii, and chapter five focuses on labor force participation, Filipino women, and ethnicity. Philippine languages in Hawaii are discussed in chapter six. Chapters seven and eight describe various Filipino strategies for survival and their efforts to achieve integration and overcome stereotypes. An epilogue traces the development, culture, and attitudes over the course of three generations. (APM)

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Out of This Struggle

The Filipinos in Hawaii

Edited by LUIS V. TEODORO, JR.

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I know that out of this struggle will come a new race of men, and history will flow forward again. The old world is dying, but a new world is being born. It generates inspiration from the chaos that beats upon us all. The false grandeur and security, the unfulfilled promises and illusory power, the number of the dead and those who are about to die, will charge the forces of our courage and determination. The old world will die so that the new world will be born with less sacrifice and agony for the living.

From America Is in the Heart *by*
Carlos Bulosan

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Foreword

"Who are you?" said the caterpillar. This was not an encouraging opening for a conversation. Alice replied, rather shyly, "I - I hardly know, sir, just at present—at least I know who I *was* when I got up this morning, but I think I must have been changed several times since then."

From *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll

Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan, hindi makararating sa paroroonan. (He who does not look back to whence he came will never reach his destination.)

Old Filipino proverb

To celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the first Filipinos in Hawaii, Enabling Act 181, creating a commission to oversee the celebration, was passed by the 1977 session of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Hawaii. This book is the result of efforts by the Education (Printed) Committee of the Filipino 75th Anniversary Commemoration Commission to capture in writing the essence of seventy-five years of Filipino Experience in Hawaii. The task was not an easy one, for the subject is not as simple as it seems. For example, it has been observed that there were three waves of Filipino immigration to Hawaii—each wave bringing Filipinos of differing socioeconomic, educational, and geopolitical backgrounds. Would it not be reasonable to assume that the impact Hawaii had on these groups—and, conversely, the impact these groups had on Hawaii—was in each instance different? It would then be patently misleading to speak of one homogeneous group called "Filipinos" being affected at any given time. At the same time, Hawaii was evolving from a decidedly plantation-oriented community to a more commercial and tourist-dependent state. This development certainly introduced some changes in the status and role of Filipinos in Hawaii.

In addition to the complexity of the subject—since it involves many individuals of differing backgrounds exposed to a variety of circumstances at different times—the question of how best to approach it was equally problematic. It would perhaps have been easier to write a retrospective catalog of events and personages as most historians are wont to do under the banner of objectivity. As most of us know, what usually unfolds in such a rendering is virtually a one-dimensional movie scenario: logical, sequential, predictable. That is to say, much of the life and the human drama are often squeezed out in the relentless pursuit of facts and figures. This would have been a disservice to the generations of immigrant Filipinos who, in the pursuit of better lives, had opted to leave not only hearth, kith, and kin for a strange land, but an entire culture and way of life as well—in the process going through the most incredible difficulties.

The first approach suggested the second alternative: to render the Filipino experience in personal, subjective terms. While this would have done justice to the many stories of struggle and triumph among the Filipinos in Hawaii, it would have been fragmentary and pointless. An assessment of the Filipino experience, as much as a recounting of it, is undoubtedly vital to the Filipinos in Hawaii, and it is for this reason that the Committee opted for an approach which, for want of a better term, we shall refer to here as a *contextual/historical* one.

It must be remembered that the first Filipinos came to Hawaii against a backdrop of great events. Only four years had passed since the United States, in what was undoubtedly a crucial decision to involve itself actively in global affairs, had consolidated its sovereignty over the Philippines; only eight years had passed since the Filipino people had risen against Spanish colonialism and founded the first Asian republic. This republic was short lived and its intentions, therefore, hardly realized for reasons that lay both in the nature of the Philippine revolution against Spain as well as in the American thrust into Asia.

This development, however, was to affect the lives of millions of Filipinos, not the least those who looked beyond the boundaries of their native land to the West, and succeeding others. The Filipino in Hawaii, whether he belongs to the first, the second, or the third generation, is here because of those great events, and it is for this reason that this book sees no discontinuity between the history of the Philippines and the history of overseas Filipinos, whether in Hawaii or elsewhere. Neither can the Filipino in Hawaii be divorced from the evolution of these islands, for Hawaii was itself undergoing a similar process of change. The lives and individual fortunes of these Filipinos were therefore influenced by the relentless working out of history and the context in which the historical events unfolded. This book is constantly aware of that process: of the great historical drama acted out by the thousands of Filipinos in Hawaii in their struggle to achieve here what had been denied them at home.

This book does not intend to establish the Filipino identity in Hawaii. Like Alice, the Filipinos who came and stayed in Hawaii presumably knew *who* they were. And yet, being in a new place, relating to other ethnic groups, responding to novel situations, must have, in time, given them a sense that their "identity" had changed "several times since then." In being changed, however, it is reasonable to assume that they also left and are still leaving their indelible marks on the Hawaii scene. The child, in being brought up by the parents, molds, albeit subtly, the parents themselves. As much as being in Hawaii has had an impact on the collective Filipino psyche, Hawaii—for good or for ill—has not been and cannot be the same again since the Filipinos arrived.

There is no doubt that a number of Filipinos have achieved not only an economic and social status which would have been unthinkable in the past, but also responsible positions in the upper decision-making levels of Hawaii's political structure. Similarly, there is no doubt that a number of Filipinos in Hawaii have achieved distinction in such fields as sports and entertainment.

Neither, however, is there any doubt that these Filipinos are the exception rather than the rule, for the great majority of Filipinos in Hawaii are in the lowest levels of the social and economic structure and are, as a group, politically powerless. In addition, it must be noted that success in such areas as sports and entertainment does not necessarily mean success within the system—Black prominence in precisely these same areas, for example, is not necessarily equalled by general economic and social advancement, nor by an increase in political responsibility and decision making.

It is easy to accentuate the positive and to continue to ignore the conditions and processes which have created the present Filipino condition. But this is also the easiest way to stifle the legitimate efforts of Filipinos to combat the many obstacles to their advancement that undoubtedly still exist—obstacles rooted in the past and strengthened by a refusal to confront that past.

To know the past is to prevent its repetition; in addition, to know it is to understand the present. The past cannot and should not be an excuse to justify apathy; rather should it be a goad to the realization that, by avoiding its pitfalls, by rejecting its mistakes, and abandoning its compromises, it is possible for Filipinos in Hawaii to come into their own.

This is to suggest that an understanding of the past is crucial to the present and future of Filipinos in Hawaii.

William Ralph Inge once said that the proper time to influence the character of a child is about one hundred years before the child is born. The year 1981 is a very important one for the Filipinos in Hawaii. It marks seventy-five years of their collective existence as an ethnic group in this wondrous state. They have twenty-five years more, if Inge is correct, before the Filipino "character" in Hawaii truly evolves. This book, if it is to serve its purpose, must be seen by readers of the year 2006 as having at least attempted an unblinking look at Filipino history in Hawaii. If this book is the least bit successful, then by that time it shall no longer be needed; it shall have contributed to making itself unnecessary.

DANILO E. PONCE, M.D.
Chairperson
Education (Printed) Committee
Filipino 75th Anniversary Commemoration Commission

Editor's Preface

The Filipinos in Hawaii have been the subject of countless studies, and this work makes no pretense at having uncovered new findings with respect to their history or present situation. What it does make a claim to is that it was written from a Filipino viewpoint: that is, it examines the Filipino experience in Hawaii in the context of Philippine history and culture and attempts thereby to provide those Filipinos who, whether in despair, shame, or ignorance would deny their heritage, a key to its understanding.

This work is by no means a compilation of separate papers, but must be read as a long essay. The contributors initially prepared papers on those areas of the Filipino experience which the editor felt were crucial to the understanding of that experience. The content of those papers was then integrated into the present interpretative structure. Whatever errors of interpretation there may be in this work are therefore the editor's, while the contributors must be credited with specific insights into the Filipino experience and with providing the basic material without which this book would not at all have been possible.

Finally, the editor would like to acknowledge the support and encouragement of Amefil Agbayani, director of the University of Hawaii's Operation Manong, for making her office, where much of the rewriting was done, available; and Ninotchka Rosca, of the University of Hawaii Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, for her invaluable editorial comments and suggestions.

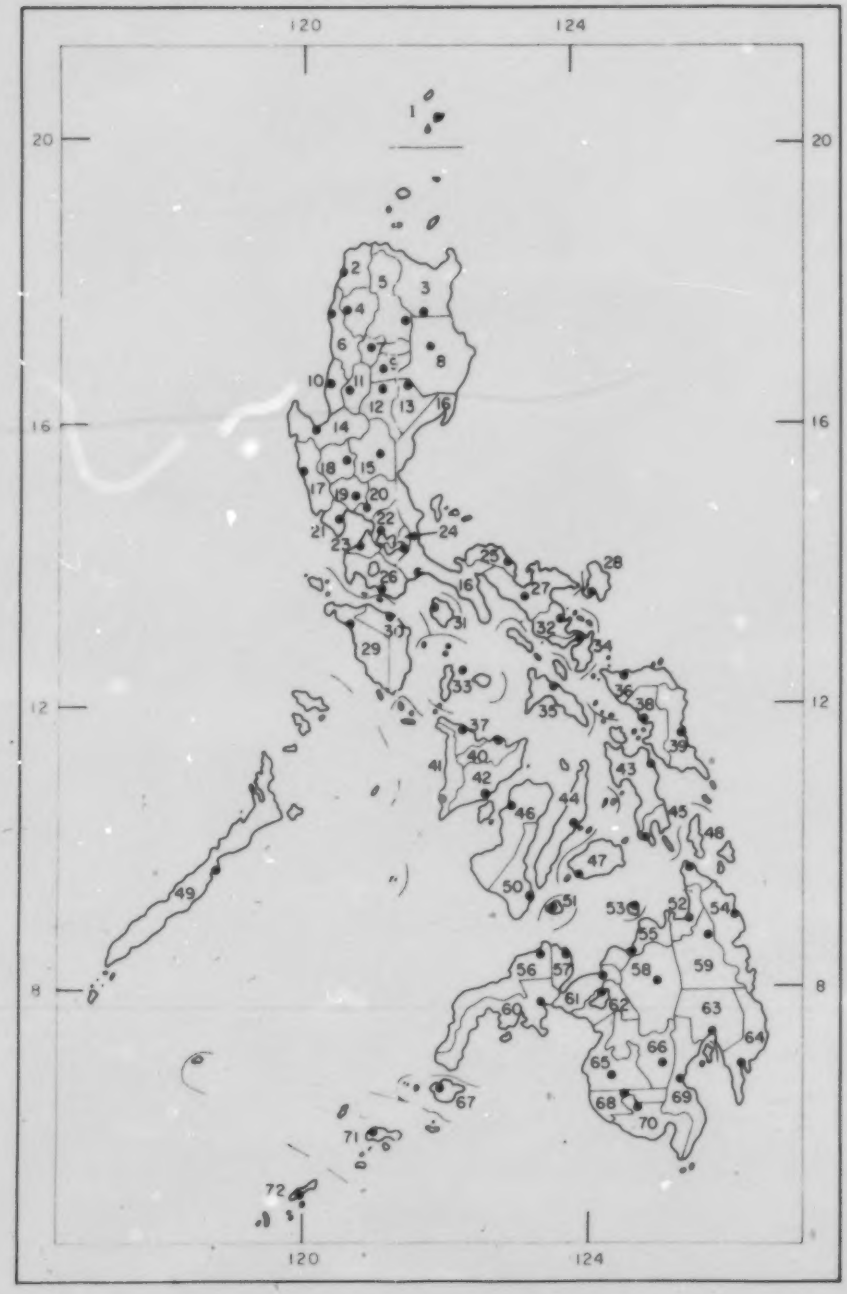
Luis V. Teodoro, Jr.

16 June 1980
Honolulu, Hawaii

PROVINCES	CAPITALS	PROVINCES	CAPITALS
1 Batanes	Basco	37 Aklan	Kalibo
2 Ilocos Norte	Laoag (c.c.)	38 Samar	Catbalogan
3 Cagayan	Tuguegarao	39 Eastern Samar	Borongan
4 Abra	Bangued	40 Capiz	Roxas (c.c.)
5 Kalinga-Apayao	Tabuk	41 Antique	San Jose de Buenavista
6 Ilocos Sur	Vigan	42 Iloilo	Iloilo (c.c.)
7 Mountain Province	Bontoc	43 Leyte	Tacloban (c.c.)
8 Isabela	Ilagan	44 Cebu	Cebu (c.c.)
9 Ifugao	Lagawe	45 Southern Leyte	Maasin
10 La Union	San Fernando	46 Negros Occidental	Bacolod (c.c.)
11 Benguet	La Trinidad	47 Bohol	Tagbilaran (c.c.)
12 Nueva Vizcaya	Bayombong	48 Surigao del Norte	Surigao (c.c.)
13 Quirino	Cabarroquis	49 Palawan	Puerto Princesa (c.c.)
14 Pangasinan	Lingayen	50 Negros Oriental	Dumaguete (c.c.)
15 Nueva Ecija	Palayan (c.c.)	51 Siquijor	Siquijor
16 Quezon	Lucena (c.c.)	52 Agusan del Norte	Butuan (c.c.)
17 Zambales	Iba	53 Camiguin	Mambajao
18 Tarlac	Tarlac	54 Surigao del Sur	Tandag
19 Pampanga	San Fernando	55 Misamis Oriental	Cagayan de Oro (c.c.)
20 Bulacan	Malolos	56 Zamboanga del Norte	Dipolog (c.c.)
21 Bataan	Balanga	57 Misamis Occidental	Oroquieta (c.c.)
22 Rizal	Pasig	58 Bukidnon	Malaybalay
23 Cavite	Trece Matires (c.c.)	59 Agusan del Sur	Prosperidad
24 Laguna	Santa Cruz	60 Zamboanga del Sur	Pagadian (c.c.)
25 Camarines Norte	Daet	61 Lanao del Norte	Iligan (c.c.)
26 Batangas	Batangas (c.c.)	62 Lanao del Sur	Marawi (c.c.)
27 Camarines Sur	Naga (c.c.)	63 Davao	Tagum
28 Catanduanes	Virac	64 Davao Oriental	Mati
29 Mindoro Occidental	Mamburao	65 Maguindanao	Maganoy
30 Mindoro Oriental	Calapan	66 North Cotabato	Kidapawan
31 Marinduque	Boac	67 Basilan	Isabela
32 Albay	Legazpi (c.c.)	68 Sultan Kudarat	Isulan
33 Romblon	Romblon	69 Davao del Sur	Digos
34 Sorsogon	Sorsogon	70 South Cotabato	Koronadal
35 Masbate	Masbate	71 Sulu	Jolo
36 Northern Samar	Catarman	72 Tawitawi	Balimbing

Note—(c.c.) indicates chartered city.

Philippines: Provinces and Provincial Capitals, 1975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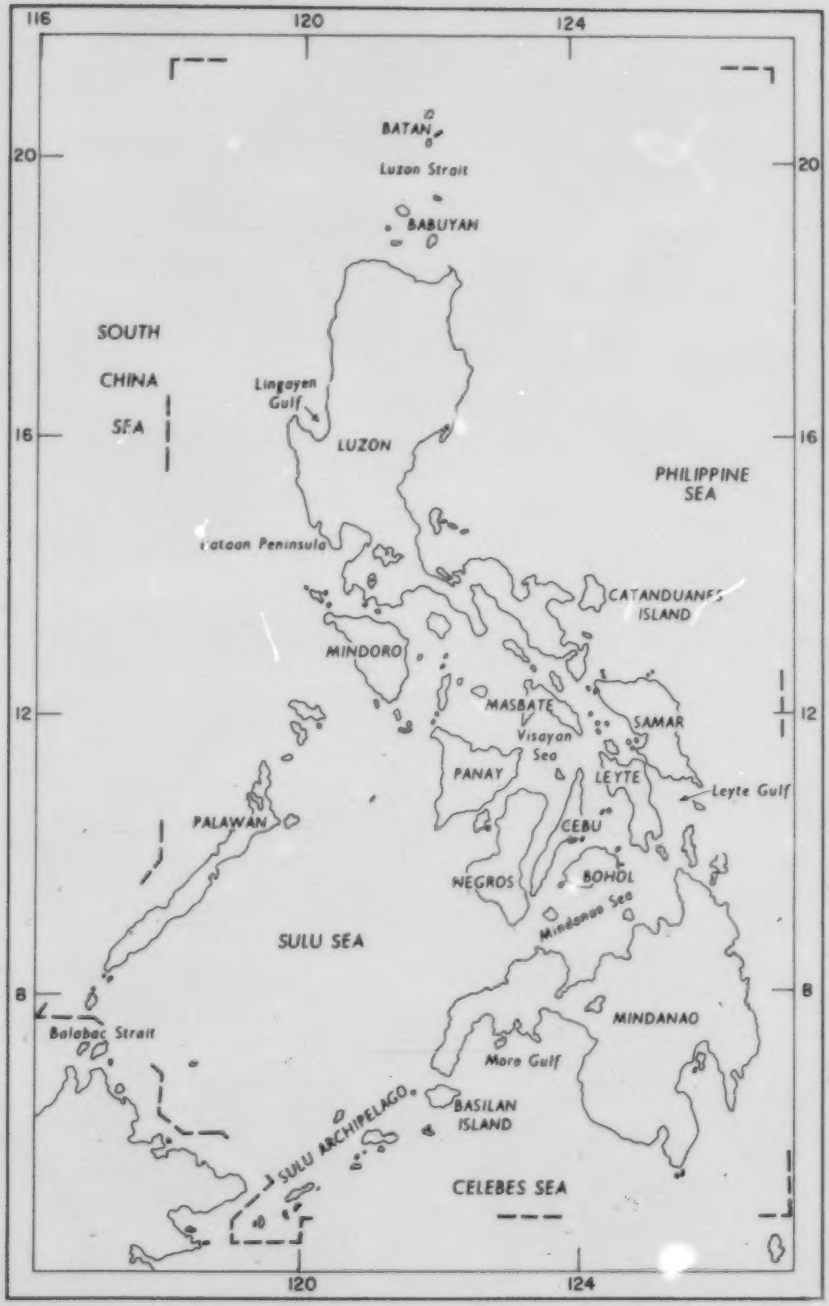

Philippines: Major Islands and Bodies of Water

Historical Chronology

1521 Lapu-lapu, chieftain of Mactan, an island off what is now known as Cebu in Central Philippines, refuses to pay tribute to the King of Spain. His warriors kill Ferdinand Magellan—who had named what is now known as the Philippines the Archipelago of St. Lazarus and demanded tribute from the native chiefs—in the first battle of anti-colonial resistance in the Philippines.

1543 A Spanish expedition headed by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos reaches Davao Oriental in Southern Philippines, and renames the islands *Felipenas* in honor of Felipe II (Philip II) of Spain.

1571 The Spanish *adelantado** Miguel Lopez de Legazpi takes possession of Manila, from where the Spaniards begin the systematic conquest of the archipelago.

1578 Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa temporarily conquers Sulu, in Southern Philippines, but is killed in Maguindanao. His efforts at the conquest of the Muslims lead to stronger Muslim resistance.

*The *adelantado*, or colonist, was an individual commissioned by the Spanish crown to settle distant lands in exchange for monetary and other rewards.

1649 Sumuroy, a garrison chieftain in the town of Palapag, Samar, Central Philippines, leads an uprising against the Spaniards.

1660 The Spaniards crush a revolt of the people of Pampanga, in the central plains of Luzon Island.

1762 British forces occupy Manila as a consequence of war between Spain and Great Britain. The Spanish colonial government withdraws to the provinces.

Diego Silang leads an Ilokano revolt against the Spaniards, with the help of the British.

1763 Diego Silang is killed by Miguel Vicos. His wife Gabriela assumes leadership of the Ilokano rebellion.

1861 Jose Rizal Mercado y Alonso is born on 19 June, in Calamba in the Tagalog province of Laguna.

1886 Rizal's first novel, *Noli Me Tangere* [The social cancer], is published in Germany.

1895 Andres Bonifacio is elected *Supremo* of the revolutionary organization, the *Katipunan*

("Union"). The Philippine Revolution breaks out a year later.

1896 Rizal is executed by the Spanish colonial government on 30 December.

1898 Commodore George Dewey sails to Manila as war breaks out between the United States and Spain. In the mock battle of Manila Bay, Dewey destroys the puny Spanish fleet (1 May).

Believing the Americans to be his allies, General Emilio Aguinaldo declares Philippine independence on 12 June. Revolutionary forces by this time control large parts of the Philippines, except Manila.

Spain cedes the Philippines to the United States at the Treaty of Paris (10 December) despite the protests of the Filipino Revolutionary Government.

1899 Hostilities break out between Filipino revolutionary forces and American troops in Manila.

The Schurmann Commission arrives in the Philippines from the United States to formulate plans for rebuilding the country.

1901 Aguinaldo is captured by American forces on 23 March.

The Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) suggests in Washington that Filipino workers may be recruited for Hawaii's plantations.

1906 The first group of Filipinos, numbering fifteen men, arrives in Hawaii to work in the plantations. One hundred fifty more arrive the following year.

1915 The HSPA works out a system of individual agreements with Filipino workers under which the terms of their employment are specified in advance.

The Philippine Government (already controlled by the United States) adopts a licensing law to curb recruitment abuses.

1919 Pablo Manlapit organizes the Filipino Labor Union and begins a campaign to organize Filipino workers in the plantations of Hawaii.

1920 Manlapit joins Japanese labor leaders in forming the Higher Wage Movement.

The HSPA rejects the Movement's demands. The Movement calls workers out on a strike, which lasts three months.

1923 The Higher Wage Movement demands a two-dollar-per-day minimum wage and a forty-hour work week. The HSPA rejects the demands.

1924 Manlapit calls Filipino workers out on strike. Sixteen workers and four policemen are killed on 9 September in a one-sided gun battle between police and workers in Kauai.

1925 Manlapit, several other leaders, and sixty workers are convicted of "conspiracy" and are sentenced to two years in prison. Manlapit chooses deportation to the Philippines.

1932 Manlapit returns to Hawaii and, with Epifanio Taok and Antonio Fagel, reorganizes the Filipino Labor Union.

1935 The HSPA manages to send Epifanio Taok to prison and permanently bars Manlapit

from Hawaii. Fagel takes the union underground and renames it the Vibora Luviminda.

1936 Fagel calls the union out on strike in June. The HSPA is forced to negotiate after eighty-five days, granting the workers a 15 percent wage increase.

1937 Fagel is charged with "conspiracy" in May.

1941 Martial law is declared in Hawaii twenty-four hours after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December. All labor organizing comes to a halt.

1944 Martial law is lifted on 24 October.

1946 The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) moves into the plantations. The ILWU calls a strike in the sugar industry and wins.

The last group of Filipinos recruited by the HSPA arrives in Hawaii.

The United States "grants" the Philippines its independence on 4 July.

1948 The Philippine Government opens a consulate in Hawaii.

1954 The Democratic Party captures a majority of seats in the Hawaii Territorial Legislature, to which a Filipino is elected.

The Filipino Chamber of Commerce is formed in Hawaii.

1959 Hawaii becomes the fiftieth state of the American Union.

1960 The Hawaii State Department of Public Instruction begins offering citizenship classes.

1961 The Hawaii State Legislature enacts the first of a series of laws permitting foreign-trained professionals to practice in Hawaii.

1965 The new Immigration Act abolishing the national origin quota system is passed by the US Congress.

I

From Revolution to Annexation: Historical Overview of the Philippines

The Filipino story began in Southeast Asia, in those islands now known as the Philippines. It began long before those islands were a colony of Spain and long before the names *Philippines* and *Filipinos* had any meaning.

It used to be customary to view the history of Filipinos as having begun only with the islands' discovery by Spain in 1521. For a long time, Filipinos were taught they had no existence before Ferdinand Magellan arrived and christened the islands the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. It took some time before this view was challenged by both Filipino historians and laymen. But in the great nationalist awakening of the 1960s, there finally came into being the awareness that Filipino history was not solely a colonial history, and that there existed, prior to the Spanish conquest, Philippine societies with distinct cultures, and at varying stages of development.

That this awareness should have matured only in the latter half of the twentieth century was logical. Although during the propaganda period in the last half of the nineteenth century, Jose Rizal (1861–1896) and other nationalist thinkers sought to recall Filipinos to their pre-Hispanic past, American intervention and conquest effectively stifled this awareness for more than fifty years.

This reawakening was crucial to the development of an anticolonial consciousness. And this consciousness, which lies at the core of being *Filipino*—the word first came into use during the Revolution of 1896 to describe *all* Philippine-born people—has challenged and is still challenging today, decades after independence, the colonial vestiges of Philippine society. More importantly, it is this consciousness which has been instrumental in creating in the Philippines a new type of Filipino for whom personal liberty and national independence have become the most valued ideals.

In the sixteenth century, during the period of Spanish conquest, the Spaniards found in the Philippines about a million people scattered in small settlements throughout the islands—from the uplands of Luzon in the north to the Muslim bastions in the south, and along the coasts of the major islands.

These communities *(barangay)* were separate entities, often maintaining only informal contacts with one another. Their size varied from thirty to one hundred houses, and the population from one hundred to five hundred persons. Manila—already a flourishing port city at the time—was an exception, with about two thousand inhabitants.

The barangay were generally coastal or riverine settlements, seas and rivers being crucial to the inhabitants not only as means of transportation, but

also as sources of protein. Fishing was the main source of sustenance, although subsistence agriculture was also practiced.

Although the barangay were a fairly common form of social organization, these pre-Hispanic communities were by no means homogeneous. At the time of the Spanish conquest, they were generally societies at various levels of transition, some of the least advanced only beginning to show divisions into social classes, while others already exhibited elaborate social stratification. In most of these societies, however, there were as yet no fully developed exploiting classes. Most persons were self-sufficient fishermen and/or farmers, and political cohesion was based on free consent.

It is of course useless to speculate on what could have happened to Philippine history if the Spaniards had not come. It is nevertheless fairly safe to assume that the barangay, being societies in motion, would have continued to develop, perhaps towards the complexity already achieved by many of the Muslim communities. Suffice it to say that Spanish conquest stifled these possibilities for further development, a process affecting even the Muslim settlements which, because of their resistance to Spanish colonization, were in a constant state of siege during the three hundred years of Spanish occupation.

The Limits of Spanish Power

Although the Philippines was formally a Spanish colony, roughly from 1571 to 1898, Muslim Filipinos, as previously stated, resisted Spanish incursions and were never conquered. The Igorots of the Cordilleras similarly defied sporadic Spanish military and missionary efforts. Since Spanish authority was imposed successfully only over the lowland areas of Luzon and the Visayas, we can, therefore, describe only the significant social changes that occurred there; in general, the first two hundred years of Spanish rule brought about a gradual change in those areas while certain patterns of pre-Hispanic culture persisted. The process of change, however, accelerated in the nineteenth century, affecting many aspects of lowland Philippine society.

By the end of 1700, most of the lowland Filipinos (except those in Mindanao) had been converted to Roman Catholicism. Why this occurred despite the limited supply of missionaries is a matter of speculation. Perhaps it was the absence of an organized religion. When the Spaniards came to the archipelago, Islam, already entrenched in the south, was just slowly penetrating into other areas to the north where the inhabitants still practiced animism. Or perhaps the explanation lies in the methods used by the missionaries to attract potential converts. Although the missionaries energetically demolished the idols of the animistic religions, they were not and could not be strict in imparting Catholic concepts and doctrines, often integrating folk beliefs into their teachings. As a result, a syncretic religion emerged—what has been referred to as a "folk religion" in which Catholicism and elements of animism are successfully, though perhaps uncomfortably, blended.

The Spaniards also established a centralized political organization, linking the earlier self-sufficient barangay to the center in Manila. The chiefs of these barangay simply became part of the new political structure by occupying the lower posts in the towns and villages, while the Spaniards filled the higher posts. These former chiefs acted as intermediaries, collected the taxes, and organized corvée labor for the Spanish authorities.

Economic conditions did not radically change during the first two hundred years of Spanish rule. The main government-supported economic activity, the galleon trade, kept most of the Spaniards in Manila. Into the city came Chinese traders with their goods, which were in turn loaded into the galleons bound for Acapulco, Mexico. The return of these galleons, theoretically filled with Mexican silver as payment for Chinese goods, always caused a stir in the city, for it meant vast profits for those who had invested in the trade.

But for most Filipinos in the countryside things went on as before, with the traditional occupations

of farming and fishing being the main sources of livelihood.

The nineteenth century ushered in many changes, the most important of which was the shift from a subsistence economy to the world-market economy. With Manila finally opened to foreign trade, foreign merchants (particularly British and American) came to buy Philippine products (sugar, tobacco, hemp) for the newly industrialized countries of the West. These merchants also provided capital (loans) which greatly helped the expanding native agriculture. As a result, marked changes occurred in certain areas. For example, Pampanga, Negros, and Iloilo became sugar crop producers almost overnight.

The local Filipino elite, composed of both native and Chinese *mestizo* ("mixed-blood") families, profited from these developments. It was now possible for them to send their children to Manila, and even to Europe, for higher education. This led to the emergence of an *ilustrado* group, the intelligentsia, which, chafing at the restrictions imposed by the colonial government on the native born, initially urged, and agitated for, reforms in the colony.

The peasants, meanwhile, provided labor, but did not obtain sufficient material benefits from the flourishing agriculture. The estrangement between the agrarian classes (the landlords and the peasants) manifested itself during the revolutionary period, which appears to have gone through several phases.

From Propaganda to Armed Struggle

The first phase, commonly known as the Propaganda Movement, roughly covers the decade 1880 to 1890. A number of Filipino students abroad (e.g., Jose Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena) campaigned for social and political reforms in the Spanish administration of the Philippines. They criticized the "monastic supremacy" *(La Soberanía Monacal)* there or what they considered to be the excessive political and economic power of the friars in the country. It is obvious why they had to go to Spain to air their demands, for the Spanish authorities at home severely suppressed critics of the colonial government. Although the propagandists did not achieve their goals, they are generally credited with having helped develop a Filipino national consciousness.

The second phase, from August 1896 to December 1897, marks the armed struggle for independence. Andres Bonifacio and most members of the *Katipunan* ("Union"), which launched the Revolution, came from the masses as opposed to the ilustrado mentioned above. After Bonifacio's death, the Revolution, now led by Emilio Aguinaldo, continued until the end of 1897. As a result of a truce signed between the revolutionary forces and Spanish authorities, hostilities ceased. Aguinaldo agreed to go into exile in Hongkong.

The third phase, 1898 to 1902, is a complex period of heightened participation from three groups: (1) the Americans, whom Aguinaldo thought to be his allies, occupied the Philippines by force; (2) the revolutionary leaders, who reorganized the area under the revolutionary government, fought the Americans and controlled dissatisfied peasant revolutionists; and (3) the peasant revolutionists, who also fought the Americans and at the same time challenged the elitist leadership of the reorganized revolutionary government.

The fourth and final phase, from 1903 to 1907, covers mostly the activities of Macario Sakay and others who continued the resistance against the Americans despite overwhelming odds. By this time, many revolutionary leaders had been killed, captured, or exiled for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Others surrendered or simply switched sides.

The outline presented above merely skims the surface of an extremely complex period. Fortunately, recent research studies deal with two intriguing issues: the geographical extent of the Revolution and how its leaders and the masses perceived its goals.

In general, those in the Tagalog provinces were the first to fight the Spaniards in 1896. And of these provinces, Cavite was especially active. Pampanga, Samar, Albay, and many other provinces joined the

Revolution only in 1898. Iloilo's response in 1896 was to dispatch a contingent to Manila to support Spanish efforts against the Katipunan.

Why did the Tagalog provinces respond quickly to this call to arms? One school of thought attributes this to their proximity to Manila, the source of both modernizing and revolutionary influences, in addition to the presence of friar lands in the Tagalog provinces. By the nineteenth century, friar lands accounted for more than one-half of arable land in the region. In Cavite, friars owned most of the land. It is argued then that resentment against the dominance of the friars was particularly intense in the Tagalog areas, which therefore readily challenged Spanish authority in 1896.

Research on Pampanga and Samar seems to bolster this argument. Pampanga had no friar lands and the local elite was prospering as sugar became an important cash crop. In Samar, not only did the friars have no estates, the local elite apparently had real political power.

Studies made by Filipino scholars provide us with insights on how the elite and masses perceived the goals of the Revolution. Apparently, the ilustrado and the masses believed independence to be the goal of the Revolution but they attached different meanings to the word. For the ilustrado, who were products of Western education, it meant nationalism, setting up a government, and organizing a territorial and civil polity. As will be recalled, the ilustrado were dominant during the third phase (1898–1902) when they helped Aguinaldo reorganize the revolutionary government. Unfortunately, they were also the first to abandon the fight and to cooperate with the American authorities in setting up a civil government after Aguinaldo's capture.

On the other hand, "independence" meant a different thing to the peasants. Probably drawing mainly from traditional sources, the peasant thought of independence in terms of a society based on brotherhood, mutual aid and concern, and egalitarianism. The early Katipuneros of 1896 reflected these goals in their manifestos. Likewise, Sakay, during the fourth phase of the Revolution, reiterated and fought for the same goals.

During the third phase of the Revolution, the peasants actually challenged the revolutionary government to implement the Katipunan goals of 1896, as they perceived them. Certain peasant groups—for instance, in Zambales—expropriated landed estates only to be opposed outright by the reorganized revolutionary government. In general, local members of the elite who joined the revolutionary struggle during the third phase saw peasants who had been fighting since the second phase as threats to their authority and property. Many Katipuneros, such as Felipe Salvador, and members of the Santa Iglesia* eventually drew the ire of the local elite and later the American authorities. Both Salvador and Sacay were convicted as bandits and executed.

We noted above that many of the ilustrado and other rising landowning elite classes had decided, by the third phase of the Revolution, to cooperate with the Americans. Perhaps they saw the futility of fighting a drawn-out guerilla war. Most probably, they believed that the Americans would eventually grant independence to the country. Definitely, the new colonial authorities needed and sought the help of upper-class Filipinos in running the government. By the first decade of the twentieth century, upper-class Filipinos had gained political ascendancy and economic power, with the latter enhanced by the establishment of free-trade relations between the United States and the Philippines.

Unfortunately, as the Filipino elite's life-style became more comfortable and cosmopolitan, that of the peasants became more difficult. Although many peasants may or may not have detected it yet, the elite was getting richer at the expense of the peasantry, a process that began in the nineteenth century. Events during the American colonial period would

*This was a religiopolitical movement which, according to current research by Filipino historians, played a significant role in the Revolution of 1896–1902.

show the various ways—peaceful and violent—in which peasants tried to survive the times.

The Spanish colonial experience and the revolutionary period cover a variety of themes and issues, many of which remain to be researched. For our purposes, however, we cannot overemphasize two themes: the peasant hunger for land, which was integral to the Revolution, and the frustration of this desire because of ilustrado resistance and American intervention.

Peasant dissatisfaction continued well into the American colonial period and remains a volatile element in Philippine social reality today. This dissatisfaction was and is expressed in many ways, including strikes, uprisings, and rebellions. It was also evident in out-migration, in many instances to cities, in some to other lands, especially beginning in 1906 when the first recruitment campaign for Filipino workers for Hawaii plantations began. The process accelerated rapidly during the first decade of the twentieth century and continued into the 1930s. It must be noted that the greater number of workers migrating to Hawaii from the Philippines were of peasant origin. This is indicated by the fact that most of these workers came from Philippine provinces rather than the cities—23,204 from Ilokos Norte, for example, from 1916 to 1928, compared to 129 from Manila for the same period.

2

Great Expectations: The Plantation System in Hawaii

When the first Filipino workers arrived in 1906, the plantation was already firmly entrenched as the center of the main economic activity in Hawaii. The plantation, perhaps more than anything else, has had the most profound influence on the history of Hawaii. The socioeconomic system was built upon it and life on the islands largely shaped by it for almost one hundred years.

Hawaii is an island community of immigrants; even the Hawaiians migrated to these islands from western Polynesia. The first group of settlers are estimated to have arrived as early as AD 124; the last came in AD 1100. (Schmitt 1977). These settlers were able to develop their own culture and way of life in isolation from the rest of the world until James Cook "discovered" Hawaii in 1778.

The Hawaiians established a theocratic class-caste system headed by local chiefs *(alii)* who ruled by divine right. The system was not particularly oppressive. The common people *(makaainana)* in ancient Hawaii worked under feudal discipline but enjoyed greater freedom of movement than European serfs of the medieval period. Private property did not exist. Land, controlled by the chiefs by virtue of their claim to divine right, was apportioned to the *ohana* ("family network") over which they ruled. The common people enjoyed the fruits of their labor and paid an annual tribute to the ruling chiefs. They also provided free services to the alii in return for their use of the land.

Captain Cook's arrival in 1778 precipitated the collapse of the fragile island civilization. A few decades later, one of the Hawaiian chiefs, Kamehameha I, utilized military assistance from the *haole* ("foreigners of European descent") to unite the entire island chain for the first time. Kamehameha granted key political and economic positions to a number of American and European foreigners in return for their help.

The influx of trading ships rapidly undermined traditional Hawaiian agriculture and replaced it with a competitive economy based on international trade. Prior to the establishment of the plantation system, the main economic activities of the islands involved the fur trade (1790–1910); the sandalwood trade (1804–1820), which came to a halt when Hawaii's sandalwood forests were depleted; the whaling period (1820–1860) when Hawaii served as the rest and recuperation station for the great Pacific whaling fleets, a key port of call for provisions and ship

repairs. This period reached its height in the 1850s and came to an end when petroleum replaced whale oil (Morgan 1948).

Out of the trading period arose a merchant class in Hawaii made up of foreign missionaries and the sailors who stayed on after the decline of the whaling industry. By 1844, there were six general merchants and eleven storekeepers in Hawaii, all haole. This small merchant class provided the original capital which was used to begin the various agricultural ventures following the whaling period.

Haole Influence and Plantation Development

As the haole businessmen grew wealthier, they soon came to exert greater influence, not only on the economy, but on the political life of the islands as well. Through their influence as advisers to the monarchy, the form of government began to change. By 1840, a constitution was adopted and the foreigners succeeded in gaining greater control over the Hawaiian kingdom. (*Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society* [No.21], 1940)

Under the new form of government (a constitutional monarchy similar to that of England where the king is a mere figurehead), American and European missionary-business interests effectively seized control of the various government institutions. Although they never comprised the majority, haoles on the average comprised 28 percent of the legislature from 1851 through 1880, while they were even more successful in attaining cabinet positions through appointment by the monarchy. From 1842 to 1880, of the thirty-four different men who held cabinet positions, twenty-eight were haole and only six Hawaiian or part Hawaiian.

The regulation and control of land followed the reorganization of government. Ostensibly a program to redistribute land among the people, the Great Mahele (land division) of 1848 in fact introduced the concept of private property into land holding in Hawaii (Levy 1975). Before the Great Mahele, foreigners leased land from either the alii or the king. Some also obtained land grants from the monarchy. The changes in the laws and the Great Mahele transformed land, hitherto communal property, into private property. As a result, foreigners were able to secure permanent control of the large landholdings necessary for effective plantation development.

Under the Great Mahele, the king and his family received 23.8 percent of all the land in Hawaii (or 948,000 acres); two hundred thirty-nine chiefs were given 1,619,000 acres (39.2 percent) to divide among themselves; the government, as distinguished from the crown, was granted 1,523,000 (37 percent). The rest—about 0.8 percent or 26,600 acres—was granted to the common Hawaiians who numbered approximately 80,500 in 1850. Only 29,000 Hawaiians were actually able to obtain these land awards (kuleana), leaving 72 percent of the eligible Hawaiians landless.

Until land could be bought or sold, the development of a commercial system of agriculture in Hawaii had to wait. The Great Mahele, therefore, provided the opportunity for the growth of the plantations. Almost immediately after the Great Mahele and the collapse of the whaling industry, the limited supply of island capital was directed primarily to plantation development.

Meanwhile, as land came into the hands of foreigners, more and more native Hawaiians were displaced and forced to sell their labor for a wage in order to survive. Hundreds of them became the first plantation workers for the enterprising foreigners.

Hawaii's experience confirms the view that a free enterprise system cannot develop until a market is established. As long as the market for Hawaiian agricultural produce was merely local in character or confined to the infrequent demands of Western trading posts, the plantation, as a creation of a mature capitalist economy, could not come into its own. A limited foreign market for Hawaiian staples had, of course, existed as early as the 1830s, but the demand was uncertain and prices fluctuated greatly.

The discovery of gold in California transformed Hawaii almost overnight from a mere trading out-

post to a major producer of sugar and other agricultural crops. Despite the serious fall of general imports from Hawaii after the gold boom, California continued, from the 1850s onward, to buy such staples as sugar, coffee, and rice from Hawaii.

Hawaii's market for plantation produce expanded further when the supply of Louisiana and West Indian sugar was virtually cut off by the American Civil War. From 1862 to 1865, island sugar exports were again artificially stimulated, and the market, once opened, was not closed even after the Civil War was over. During this period, sugar production in and exports from Hawaii literally doubled.

The sugar growers began to agitate for a more secure market as soon as plantations began to appear in greater numbers; their target for special privileges was the American market. A movement for tariff reciprocity with the United States took shape in 1852 in a proposed treaty exempting Hawaiian sugar and coffee, among a list of agricultural products, in return for American goods. This proposal was opposed by the Hawaiians, and it was not until 1876, when a treaty was signed with the United States, that haole control of the monarchy was consolidated.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 brought a "clear bonus of several million" (Morgan 1948) annually to Hawaii planters, particularly those in sugar, as Hawaii became more and more integrated into the United States economic network. Sugar production entered another expansion period similar to that during the California Gold Rush and the Civil War.

The Hawaii sugar trade increasingly came to be limited to the United States. The sugar growers, with a guaranteed income from the American market, therefore came to depend more and more on the United States for political control of the islands.

Hawaiian and Immigrant Labor

A plentiful supply of labor was another requirement for the growth of the plantation system. The successful large-scale cultivation of any agricultural crop requires a great deal of human care. The plantations required a sizeable labor force throughout the plantation process: from preparation of the soil, to planting and weeding, to the harvesting and processing of the mature crop. All these required the recruitment of a large pool of labor. The first plantation workers to perform these tasks were the Hawaiians, most of whom had been dispossessed by the Great Mahele.

There were an estimated 300 thousand Polynesians in Hawaii when Captain Cook first arrived in 1778. But immediately following contact with foreigners the Hawaiian population declined dramatically. By 1879, Hawaiians numbered no more than 60 thousand (Schmitt 1977). A lack of immunity to the diseases brought by the foreigners is the factor often cited for this decline. The disruption caused by the changes in the economy may be assumed to have also taken its toll. Accustomed to a relatively independent life-style, many Hawaiians—numbering in the tens of thousands, without land, and therefore forced to sell their labor—were unable to adapt to the hard work required by the planters. Despite contracts with the planters, many Hawaiians often ran away from the plantations. The labor situation was therefore very unstable for the planters, and they were forced to look elsewhere for the large army of labor they needed.

Beginning in 1852 and until 1930, the powerful planter elite in Hawaii conducted a vigorous campaign to bring immigrant laborers to the plantations (Lind 1938). The first group to arrive was from China. Recruitment of the Chinese lasted from 1852 to 1885 when the Chinese Exclusion Act, one of the first of many racist immigration laws, was passed by the United States Congress against non-European immigrants. The Chinese then totalled forty-six thousand.

The Chinese were followed by the Japanese, who first arrived in 1869, until 1908 when Japanese immigration was closed as a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States. Some 180 thousand Japanese, the largest group of foreign workers, had by then been brought to Hawaii.

In addition to the Chinese and Japanese, laborers were also recruited from Korea (7,900); the Portuguese islands of the Azores and Madeiras (17,500); Spain; the Scandinavian countries; Puerto Rico; and finally, the Philippines. Immigration to Hawaii during this period of almost one hundred years was artificially stimulated and generally sponsored by the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA). About 400 thousand laborers from all parts of the world were brought to work on the plantations; as a result of this great movement of people, the population characteristics of Hawaii changed dramatically.

Recruitment for the plantations was very systematic. Agents of the planters and of the government of Hawaii were sent to the countries mentioned to induce people to work in Hawaii. The period of systematic labor recruiting began following the expansion of the sugar market during the Civil War. Insistent demands from the planters led to the creation of a government bureau of immigration for the "purpose of superintending [*sic*] the importation of foreign laborers and the introduction of immigrants" (U.S. Senate *Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii,* 1903).

Millions of dollars were spent by the planters for advertising, shipping, and other inducements. Methods of recruitment, terms of contract, and tactics varied according to the nationality being recruited. With those countries that had governments which were more "respected" by the planters—such as Portugal, Japan, and the Scandinavian countries—the higher levels of diplomacy were utilized. Terms of contracts for these nationalities were often more attractive than for the others, who did not have governments as protective of their citizens—such as China at that time, or Korea, which was then a colony of Japan, or countries under the control of the United States, such as Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

But inducements were generally the same. At first, it was the five-year contract*; later, it was the standard three-year contract. Passage to Hawaii was prepaid and a promise of free travel for those who wished to return after their contract was fulfilled was also made to Filipinos after 1915. Depending on the immigrant group, a small amount of travel money was sometimes also included.

In every case, the promise of paid work and new opportunities in a new land was widely advertised, often with excellent results.

The Contract System and Planter Control

A contract system was utilized to define the relationship between planter and worker. The contract specified what was expected of the worker, his length of employment, his pay, and so on. These arrangements were all conducted between the individual worker and the plantation since there were no unions at all at that time to collectively bargain for a fair contract for the entire plantation labor force.

During this period, the contract terms were dictated by the planters. There were no provisions for the expression of grievances. Under the Master and Servant Act (1850–1900), a worker who broke the terms of the contract was liable under the penal codes of Hawaii. Workers did not have the freedom to quit plantation work; they had to work out the full three-year term of their contract or go to jail. If they ran away, as 10 percent of the workers did, they were punished severely (beating or flogging was common). The planters then added to his contract the number of days a worker missed while on the run. A worker normally worked twenty-six days a month, including Saturdays.

The contract system was legally abolished in 1900 when Hawaii became a United States territory and the Organic Act—the laws of the United States—went into effect in the islands. The contract system, however, was not actually abolished, as contracts continued to be offered to new recruits, such as workers from the Philippines, though without the restrictions of the penal codes.

The plantation, at that time virtually an indepen-

*The Chinese and early Japanese, however, served ten years.

dent kingdom isolated from the rest of the island community, was run by a plantation manager who ruled without outside restrictions. Workers wanting to improve their working or living conditions had to curry favor with the plantation boss. Those who did not act as expected were expelled from the plantation and blacklisted by the planters; they were henceforth barred from other plantations.

One of the most effective devices used by the planters to retain the workers was the paternalistic system of perquisites. Housing and social and recreational facilities, as well as some form of medical care, were included in the contract, while higher wages and promotions were decided by the plantation manager.

The planters also imported a surplus of workers as a hedge against labor problems. Labor recruitment was not determined by the size of the plantation labor force needed. The planters wanted to insure the existence of a large reserve army of laborers. Wages could thereby be kept at a minimum, while the large number of unemployed workers could be utilized as "scab" labor in case of strikes.

Aside from the rigid socioeconomic and political structure, Filipinos and other immigrant laborers had to contend with the racist attitudes of the growers who firmly believed in the superiority of the haole or white race over immigrants and Hawaiians. This racial chauvinism was given expression by Royal Meade at a Congressional hearing in Washington while he was secretary of the HSPA;

> The territory of Hawaii is now and is going to remain American under any condition and we are going to control the situation out there. . . . the white race, the white people, the Americans in Hawaii are going to dominate and will dominate. (*Hearings of the Emergency Labor Commission,* 1921)

While maintaining a constant flow of docile and cheap labor, the planters tried to prevent solidarity among the workers. Wage differentials as well as work differentials existed, depending on one's nationality: racial stratification was systematically encouraged.

The planters were not at all concerned with the adjustment that each immigrant group would have to make in the process of its being uprooted from its own culture and in adjusting to a new and often hostile environment. For them, according to a report of the Bureau of Labor in 1903 three years prior to the first Filipino labor recruits:

> The Asiatic has only an economic value in the social equation. So far as the institutions, laws, customs and languages of the permanent population go—his presence is no more felt than that of the cattle upon the mountain.

The attitude was not atypical. Robert Cooke, an HSPA official, wrote in 1930 about the policy of importing Filipino laborers: "I can see little difference between the importation of foreign laborers and the importation of jute bags from India" (Liebes 1938).

It was apparently the planters' belief that the best way to deal with the immigrants would be to foster an environment in which each ethnic group would remain separate and unable to live with one another; thus the creation of segregated camps on the plantations, each housing different immigrant groups.

The "First Wave" and the Plantation System

This, then, was the social and economic environment that confronted the first wave of Filipino immigrants when they arrived in Hawaii in late 1906. The plantation system, "king cane," was a rigid socioeconomic system that some have aptly described as a "feudal fiefdom." It was a system characterized by class as well as racial stratification, with a small elite of haole businessmen at the top—called the Big Five—who owned and controlled the industry on which the economic and social institutions of Hawaii were built, supported at the bottom by the hundreds of thousands of immigrant and native workers.

In response to the threat of reduced Japanese immigration, the HSPA began a frantic effort in 1906 to recruit Filipino laborers for Hawaii.

It was only logical for the Hawaii sugar growers to

turn their eyes to the Philippines and Puerto Rico as sources of cheap labor since these two countries—colonies of the United States—could not be closed to them by restrictive immigration laws.

The first recruitment campaign in 1906 was not very successful. Hoping to recruit three hundred families, Albert F. Judd, a lawyer of the Big Five, spent six strenuous months in the Philippines, returning to Hawaii with only fifteen men. The following year, 1907, another effort was made to recruit even more Filipinos, but only one hundred fifty were brought to Hawaii, because of the refusal of most Filipinos to leave their homeland.

The HSPA regarded the 1906–1907 recruitment as a failure; no recruitment effort was made in 1908. But with increased financial support, the HSPA recruiters began hiring Filipino agents to help round up the needed workers. In 1909, the large-scale importation of workers from the Philippines began.

At first, Filipinos were recruited and brought to Hawaii with no provisions for their return to their homeland. But in 1915, due to increasing protests by Philippine government officials against the outflow of Filipino labor from the Philippines, and the passage of Philippine laws regulating labor recruitment, the HSPA worked out a system of individual agreements with Filipino workers under which the terms of their employment were specifically provided for in advance. The HSPA undertook to return the laborer, at the expiration of the three-year contract, to the Philippines at the employer's expense. The growers also agreed to foot the bill for the journey to Hawaii, provided clothing and medical services, and undertook the final distribution of the laborers from the receiving station in Honolulu to the plantations. The cost of this process was estimated by the HSPA in 1926 as amounting to forty dollars per man.

In the earlier stages of the recruiting campaign, Filipino agents received from ten to fifteen pesos (five to seven dollars) for each laborer hired. With this inducement, numbers rather than appropriateness for the job was naturally the first consideration of those concerned with shipping laborers off to Hawaii.

The recruiting tactics of the HSPA agents raised a great deal of concern among many Filipinos. Said a Filipino provincial official:

> The HSPA persuades the laborers to emigrate. In addition . . . to the man in charge of general recruiting, there is one who goes from town to town, showing a movie of life in Hawaii. One scene shows the handing out of checks. The movie is free and is usually shown in the town plaza, so that everyone has a chance to see it. This and ordinary conversation, rather than advertising, are the most important agents of [their] propaganda. (Lasker 1931)

One Filipino writer described the intention of HSPA recruiting agents in showing films emphasizing the most favorable aspects of plantation life:

> Thus, several reels were recently taken on one of the plantations of an annual Harvest Home festival in such a way as to show a maximum number of Filipinos, both in the parade and among the spectators [up close] to make recognition possible—and at a moment of natural exhilaration and pleasure over the spectacle. (Lasker 1931)

The activities of independent recruiters was another important factor in inducing Filipinos to leave for Hawaii and the United States. An official of the then Philippine Bureau of Labor put the blame for the emigration rush on free-lance labor agents who claimed to represent the plantation companies and to be in a position to give jobs to the laborers when they arrived in Hawaii:

> Spurred on by the agent's stories of gold and easy riches awaiting eager hands, the uninformed laborers are easily duped into mortgaging their properties or borrowing from their relatives and thus getting sufficient funds to pay their passage. Many of the labor recruiters received this money and then disappeared, or say the money has been misappropriated by someone else to whom it was entrusted. Several prosecutions have been initiated by the government but they were conducted lifelessly and so far have failed to stop the practices complained of. (Lasker 1931)

As recruitment abuses became rampant, a system of licensing was adopted by the Philippine govern-

ment in 1915 through the Emigrant Laborers to Foreign Countries Section of the Bureau of Labor. The licensing law provided that any person or firm enlisting and shipping labor must pay annually five hundred pesos to the provincial treasurer of each province where laborers were recruited; that free return passage at the end of the contract or in case of physical incapacity must be provided; and that an annual license must be taken out at a cost of six thousand pesos. The act further permitted the Governor-General of the Philippines to appoint commissioners outside of the Philippines to ensure the compliance of employers with the terms of their contracts with Filipino laborers, and placed the supervision of all contracts into the hands of the Director of Labor.

Exaggerated Accounts from "The Land of 'Glorya' "

But the labor agents were not the only sources of recruitment abuses. The activities of shipping companies, particularly the Dollar Line, which was the principal shipping agent of the planters, was also the target of much criticism by Filipinos who opposed the large outflow of Filipino labor. The Dollar Line had six branch offices besides its headquarters in Manila (Laoag, Ilokos Norte; Vigan, Ilokos Sur; San Fernando, La Union; Dagupan, Pangasinan; Cebu, Cebu; and Iloilo, Iloilo). These offices employed numerous subagents who were paid on a commission basis.

What perhaps most induced Filipinos to emigrate to Hawaii in large numbers were the letters and accounts of those who had left earlier. Many an immigrant sent home letters containing money. The immigrant's family, proud of the son's "success," would pass the letter around to relatives and friends. Soon, everyone in the *barrio* (village) would know of the wonderful news. The latter usually talked of the "ideal working conditions" in Hawaii, or of the large wages to be earned. Accounts of the worker's personal experiences would be exaggerated as they were retold.

Describing this word-of-mouth process of spreading news about Hawaii, a report of the Bureau of Labor said:

> Their letters contained happy news together with practical results in the form of presents and money orders in more [or] less big amounts. Stories of their successes grew in volume and became a by-word in their home towns where others wait for opportunities and means to [follow] the successful immigrants. (Lasker 1931)

About one-third of the letters contained discouraging news but no one paid much attention to these. So strong was the pull of Hawaii that in 1925 it was possible for the HSPA to discontinue altogether its aggressive methods of labor recruitment in the Philippines and to rely almost entirely upon voluntary applications at its offices in Manila and in the provinces, aided only by occasional lectures and motion pictures. In 1926, all payments for the transportation of laborers were discontinued—apparently the HSPA believed the tales of the good life in Hawaii to be sufficient inducement to prospective plantation workers.

It is estimated that of the total number of Filipino arrivals in Hawaii—approximately 45,000 between 1925 and 1929—no less than 30,000 (or to take two full calendar years, nearly 21,000 out of a total number of 21,500 arrivals in 1927 and 1928) came under these voluntary arrangements.

There is no doubt that the aggressive recruiting policies of the HSPA, as well as exaggerated reports by friends and relatives in Hawaii, convinced many Filipinos to leave their homeland. But it must also be realized that a no less compelling factor was the difficult situation of the peasantry in the Philippines, even—perhaps especially—during the period of American colonization. As discussed in Chapter 1, the frustration of the Revolution of 1896, and American conquest at the turn of the century, had arrested the movement for agrarian revolution in the Philippines. It is no accident that, as peasant exploitation intensified with the tying of the Philippine agricultural system to the world capitalist system, the lure of Hawaii became more and more irresistible to those

Filipinos who had only a bleak future to look forward to in the Philippines.

In 1937, sugar workers in the Philippines were paid from 50 to 70 centavos a day. Women and children received 35 to 50 centavos for an eleven-hour day. In the sugar centrals, 30 percent of the workers received less than one peso (then $0.50) and 27 percent less than 1.2 pesos for an eight to twelve-hour day.

Tenants were in a no less difficult situation. Most of them sharecroppers, tenants provided labor and shared the harvest with the landlord on a fifty-fifty basis, itself already an exhorbitant price for land use. In addition, however, the landlord exacted usurious rates of interest for loans advanced to tide the tenant over. These rates were from 50 to 100 percent. In some places, three cavans of rice had to be returned to the landlord for every two cavans borrowed; in others, it was two for every cavan. It was not unusual for a tenant to have nothing left of his share after settling accounts with his landlord—if he was able to settle at all. In most cases, he sank deeper and deeper into debt. Under these conditions, it became understandable why many peasants chose to leave their homeland for Hawaii.

From 1906 to 1930, the sugar planters in Hawaii were therefore able to bring 120 thousand Filipinos to work on the plantations. It was from among these that Filipinos were recruited for employment on the mainland after 1920. Between 1906 and 1930, approximately 150 thousand Filipinos left their homeland for Hawaii and the United States.

The recruitment of Filipino laborers was primarily among the most physically strong and least-educated members of the working class. The planters' unpleasant experience with workers of other ethnic groups shaped a recruitment policy which favored the less literate, whose potential for conforming seemed great. To ensure that only hard-working men were admitted, the HSPA instituted a "rough hand" inspection and selected only young, able-bodied men with thick, calloused hands.

Residential distribution in the plantations was according to race. The early plantation was a fiefdom in which the plantation manager exercised economic

and political control over the laborers and their families. The plantation manager's power was supported by the system of racial segregation. There was the haole camp for whites, the Spanish camp, the Japanese camp, the Korean camp, and the Filipino camp, with strict curfew restrictions and high social walls separating each. The plantation management also created a system of occupational stratification and differential pay based on race. The haoles were in management positions regardless of education and experience; the Spanish and Portuguese were the lunas or work supervisors; the Japanese were employed in shop and technical jobs. Invariably, the Filipinos were in the lowest positions and were kept as unskilled laborers for most of their lives. They performed the hardest tasks of planting, weeding, cultivating, cutting, hauling, loading, and fluming for very low pay.

Most of the workers recruited from the Philippines were from the Ilokos provinces and the Visayan islands. Between 1916 and 1928, 66,436 Filipinos were brought to Hawaii. Of this number, 37,114 (or 55.9 percent) came from the four Ilokano provinces

of Abra, Ilokos Norte, Ilokos Sur, and La Union; 17,799 (or 26.8 percent originated from Bohol, Cebu, Leyte, and Negros Oriental in the Visayas; two other provinces in Central Luzon—Pangasinan and Tarlac —represented 8,525 (or 12.8 percent), while the rest came from thirty-five other provinces.

The pattern of recruitment remained pretty much the same during the entire period of the first wave of immigration.

Upon the arrival of the Filipinos, the ethnic composition of the plantation labor force changed drastically. In 1915, Filipinos comprised only 19 percent of the work force and the Japanese 54 percent. By 1930, it was the Japanese who were only 19 percent, while the Filipinos formed 70 percent of the plantation employees.

Of the sixty-four thousand Filipinos in Hawaii in 1929, thirty-four thousand with ten thousand dependents were employed in the sugar industry, making up more than two-thirds of the total work force. At that time, 68 percent of the total population of Filipinos in Hawaii were on sugar plantations. At the same time, nine thousand Filipinos were regularly employed by the pineapple industry.

Under an arrangement among the planters, the leading pineapple growers recognized their indebtedness to the sugar planters for bringing in the largest source of their permanent labor supply, namely the Filipinos, by paying their pro-rata share for workers assigned to them by the HSPA.

Most of the first wave immigrants were young and came without parents, wives, or children. From 1920 to 1930, some 1,394 Filipino men emigrated to the United States for every 100 Filipino women, a ratio of almost 14 to 1. During the period 1920 to 1929, the HSPA brought 65,618 Filipino laborers to Hawaii and only 5,286 women with their 3,091 children. (Lind 1980; Lasker 1931)

Roman Cariaga, an early Filipino historian in Hawaii, noted that the abnormal male-female ratio led to large numbers of men remaining single and to women marrying at an early age. In 1930, according to Cariaga, 65 percent of Filipino women were under twenty years of age; 75 percent of Filipino men were over twenty years old. While 93 percent of the Filipino women were married, 87 percent of the Filipino men in that age bracket were single.

Thus, as immigrants, the Filipino pioneeers were severely handicapped in almost every respect. It was precisely these handicaps, however, which made them desirable immigrants, since they could then be limited to undesirable types of work.

Filipinos found in Hawaii a society whose moral values and social relationships were already sharply defined. Living and working under conditions shaped by attitudes which regarded them as primarily an economic commodity and of no more significance than "jute bags from India," the first wave of Filipino immigrants to Hawaii, like other immigrant laborers before them, struggled to overcome and change their social and economic status.

While the great majority of the first wave stayed to live in and develop roots in Hawaii, it is hardly surprising that many Filipinos followed the Chinese and Japanese out of the plantations. Of the 120 thousand who came between 1906 and 1934, more than 50 thousand either returned to the Philippines or went on to the mainland United States. Nevertheless, Filipinos continued to arrive in Hawaii in great numbers despite the difficult conditions.

The tens of thousands of Filipinos who left their families and barrio life in the Philippines by and large came to Hawaii motivated by the search for better opportunities. Thus, urged on by the recruitment tactics of the HSPA and by the lure of the "land of glorya," Filipinos came to Hawaii with the intention of fulfilling their dream of a better life, a dream which a great many of them would never realize and for which their sons and daughters today are continuing to struggle.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2, which follow, provide data on Filipino immigration to Hawaii during the early decades of this century. They were prepared by Romanzo Adams and published in Bruno Lasker's *Filipino Immigration to the Continental United States and to Hawaii* (1931), pp. 350–355.

TABLE 2.1.

The Movement of Filipino Population to and from Hawaii

1. MOVEMENT OF FILIPINO POPULATION BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND HAWAII

FIRST PERIOD: 1907–1919[1]

	From the Philippines to Hawaii				From Hawaii to the Philippines			
	Men	Women	Children	Total	Men	Women	Children	Total
1907[2]	188	20	2	210	2	—	—	2
1908[2]	697	70	52	819	—	—	—	—
1909[2]								
1910[2]	3,009	227	113	3,349	35	9	3	47
1911[3]	677	93	31	801	165	33	23	221
1912[4]	2,573	275	190	3,038	100	7	8	115
1913[4]	4,518	766	462	5,746	180	19	12	211
1914[4]	2,548	412	224	3,184	427	54	36	517
1915[4]	834	232	166	1,232	325	52	41	418
1916[4]	1,527	118	99	1,744	329	53	49	421
1917[4]	2,515	250	165	2,930	520	42	62	624
1918[4]	2,077	278	314	2,669	857	62	95	1,014
1919[4]	2,255	268	204	2,727	543	79	114	736
Total	23,418	3,009	2,022	28,449	3,483	410	443	4,336

[1]Steerage passengers, only.
[2]1907–1910. Calendar years.
[3]First half of calendar year.
[4]Fiscal years ending June 30.

SECOND PERIOD: 1920–1924[5]

1920	3,029	291	184	3,504	906	110	135	1,151
1921	2,823	327	144	3,294	1,782	221	279	2,282
1922	7,550	791	334	8,675	1,517	234	323	2,074
1923	5,838	1,008	490	7,336	878	80	90	1,048
1924	3,947	1,761	709	6,417	1,274	194	154	1,622
Total	23,187	4,178	1,861	29,226	6,357	839	981	8,177

[5]Steerage passengers only.

THIRD PERIOD: 1925–1929[6]

1925	9,414	631	324	10,369	2,122	259	388	2,769
1926	4,794	129	72	4,995	2,208	265	242	2,715
1927	6,404	385	86	6,875	2,585	425	661	3,671
1928	12,254	180	138	12,572	2,742	473	793	4,008
1929	9,320	143	130	9,593	3,788	346	675	4,809
Total	42,186	1,468	750	44,404	13,445	1,768	2,759	17,972

[6]Passengers of all classes.

TABLE 2.1. *(Continued)*

II. MOVEMENT OF FILIPINOS BETWEEN HAWAII AND CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES[7]

FIRST PERIOD: 1907–1919

	From Cont. U.S.A. to Hawaii				From Hawaii to Cont. U.S.A.			
	Men	Women	Children	Total	Men	Women	Children	Total
1907[8]					2			2
1908[8] } 1909[8]					44			44
1910[8]					39			39
1911[8]					201			201
1912[10]					41			41
1913[10]	2	1		3	120	5	8	133
1914[10]	15			15	170	3	3	176
1915[10]	10		2	12	258	1	1	260
1916[10]	8			8	257	7	2	266
1917[10]	2			2	489	11	6	506
1918[10]	2	4	1	7	441	4	11	456
1919[10]					247	6	5	258
Total	39	5	3	47	2,309	37	36	2,382

[7]Steerage passengers only.
[8]Calendar years.
[9]First half of calendar year.
[10]Fiscal years ending June 30.

SECOND PERIOD: 1920–1924[11]

1920					152	3	3	158
1921	7	2	1	10	152			152
1922	35	3		38	90	3	5	98
1923	11	1		12	1,042	26	30	1,098
1924	19	3	1	23	2,002	93	53	2,148
Total	72	9	2	83	3,438	125	91	3,654

[11]Steerage passengers only; fiscal years ending June 30.

THIRD PERIOD: 1925–1929[12]

1925	97	29	10	136	751	37	43	831
1926	136	27		163	2,436	317	135	2,888
1927	75	2	1	78	2,023	80	151	2,254
1928	117	6	9	132	1,405	47	63	1,515
1929	135	22	23	180	2,192	48	58	2,298
Total	560	86	43	689	8,807	529	450	9,786

[12]All classes of passengers; fiscal years ending June 30.

TABLE 2.1. *(Continued)*

III. SUMMARY

	From the Philippines to Hawaii				From Hawaii to the Philippines			
	Men	Women	Children	Total	Men	Women	Children	Total
1907–19	23,418	3,009	2,022	28,449	3,483	410	443	4,336
12½ yrs.								
1920–24	23,187	4,178	1,861	29,226	6,357	839	981	8,177
5 yrs.								
1925–29	42,186	1,468	750	44,404	13,445	1,768	2,759	17,972
5 yrs.								
Total	88,791	8,655	4,633	102,069	23,285	3,017	4,183	30,485

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Net gain by excess of arrivals over departures	65,506	5,638	450	71,584

	From Cont. U.S.A. to Hawaii				From Hawaii to Cont. U.S.A.			
	Men	Women	Children	Total	Men	Women	Children	Total
1907–19	39	5	3	47	2,309	37	36	2,382
12½ yrs.								
1920–24	72	9	2	83	3,438	125	91	3,654
5 yrs.								
1925–29	560	86	43	689	8,807	529	450	9,786
5 yrs.								
Total	671	100	48	819	14,554	691	577	15,822

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Net loss by excess of departures over arrivals	13,883	591	529	15,003
Net gains to Hawaii from both movements, 1907–1929	51,623	5,047	-79	56,581

The data for all years before 1925 are taken from the annual reports of the Governors of Hawaii to whom they were furnished by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. They are for steerage passengers only; but it is believed that there were very few passengers other than steerage, and that the arrivals and departures of such nonsteerage passengers nearly balanced. The data for 1907–1910 are for calendar years, those for 1911 are for six months, and those for 1912–1924 are for fiscal years ending 30 June. The data for the five years 1925–1929 are from a dependable source which I am not permitted to quote. They are for the fiscal years ending 30 June and include all classes of passengers. The use of two sorts of data, the one for steerage only and the other for all passengers, is subject to some criticism, but one must use the available data as best one can. The error due to the inclusion of first- and second-class passengers in the later years, or due to their exclusion in the earlier, cannot exceed a few hundred in the final balance.

In the ten years ending 30, June 1929, Hawaii gained 47,481 by excess of arrivals from the Orient, including some who sailed from Hongkong, over departures to the Orient. But during the same period Hawaii lost 12,668 by excess of departures to continental United States over arrivals from there, so that the net gain was 34,813.

Due to a considerable immigration of Filipino women in the years 1920–1924, the birth rate has increased, so that the total Filipino population in Hawaii has increased by several thousand through excess of births over deaths in the last decade. Among those who departed from Hawaii were several thousand Hawaii-born children of Filipinos, and to this extent the figures for departures should be reduced if one desires to determine the number of immigrants who have left the islands.

TABLE 2.2.

Provinces of Origin of Filipino Laborers Migrating from the Philippine Islands to Hawaii, 1916–1928[1]

Province	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	Total
Abra	—	7	10	10	24	20	110	214	294	203	88	242	271	1,493
Agusan	—	2	—	—	3	5	14	3	3	—	—	1	—	32
Albay	18	7	4	9	—	6	5	—	—	—	3	2	—	54
Antigue	13	15	2	9	4	24	19	6	—	1	2	—	—	95
Bataan	6	—	—	—	7	1	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	20
Batanes	39	53	9	6	17	27	23	6	76	12	6	1	—	275
Batangas	9	11	4	4	5	13	2	2	4	—	—	1	2	57
Bohol	137	113	135	463	330	987	1,063	691	496	352	77	40	93	4,977
Bulacan	38	2	2	8	1	15	9	6	1	1	—	3	—	86
Cagayan	4	3	5	5	16	23	42	25	29	45	4	94	118	413
Camarines Sur*	10	9	2	3	6	12	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	46
Capiz	56	74	11	51	30	66	32	22	14	20	1	2	5	384
Cavite	7	1	—	2	1	6	4	—	1	—	—	5	4	31
Cebu	669	952	1,049	808	813	1,825	1,994	1,339	1,218	717	209	60	138	11,791
Davao	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	7
Ilocos Norte	348	612	844	949	1,072	1,072	2,159	2,738	3,997	2,009	915	3,701	2,833	23,204
Ilocos Sur	79	147	163	412	371	572	705	1,014	2,100	1,220	349	2,519	2,045	11,696
Iloilo	53	32	20	20	33	42	43	6	12	10	6	7	6	290
Isabela	1	1	1	—	—	2	5	1	5	3	1	42	35	97
Laguna	15	5	—	8	3	2	11	4	—	1	—	1	6	56
Lanao	—	—	—	1	—	2	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
La Union	32	18	13	11	76	30	107	302	407	395	24	807	872	3,094
Leyte	73	48	32	69	87	290	327	164	226	92	48	10	4	1,470
Manila	9	20	2	1	—	7	3	1	5	1	1	68	11	129
Marinduque	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Masbate	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	1	—	4	—	—	—	11
Mindoro	9	2	—	1	—	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	22
Misamis	23	18	1	51	42	81	114	83	21	13	13	1	1	462
Mountain Prov.	6	2	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	15
Nueva Ecija	19	15	—	1	13	11	50	6	18	25	3	17	29	207
Nueva Vizcaya	1	2	2	—	1	1	5	3	1	2	—	9	5	32
Occ Negros	24	8	17	15	13	35	24	17	10	6	10	[illegible]	—	180
Or. Negros	221	134	306	710	284	646	555	379	83	38	12	16	46	3,430
Palawan	6	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	91
Pamganga	31	18	3	9	10	11	12	13	3	6	6	1	[illegible]	140
Pangasinan	151	122	50	59	138	611	474	68	598	711	59	1,352	2,226	6,619
Rizal	19	13	2	15	2	6	3	—	1	2	—	4	3	70
Romblon	—	—	3	5	2	18	8	3	8	2	—	—	—	49
Samar	20	7	3	3	9	16	12	4	7	5	—	—	—	86
Sorsogon	11	3	2	12	8	8	8	1	—	2	—	—	—	55
Surigao	12	3	4	3	6	31	14	9	9	3	3	1	—	98
Tarlac	24	96	47	47	47	245	145	117	200	578	94	237	519	2,396
Tayabas	13	16	4	13	1	2	15	1	—	1	—	[illegible]	1	68
Zambales	4	5	4	2	12	4	13	—	15	37	1	[illegible]	25	144
Zamboanga	4	1	4	9	10	22	30	11	6	1	1	3	5	107
Total	2,214	2,598	2,761	3,804	3,454	6,814	8,183	7,261	9,869	6,519	1,936†	9,274†	9,322	74,009

*Camarine Norte included.

†Number of laborers contracted only by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, while the true number of emigrants including those who went voluntarily are 3,356 and 10,074 respectively.

[1]From Bulletin of the Philippine Islands Bureau of Labor, March, 1927, and Annual Reports of the Bureau of Labor, 1927 and 1928.

3

Lessons in Organization: Filipinos and the Labor Movement

While their history in Hawaii has been largely the history of their adaptation to the plantations, the Filipinos nevertheless did strive to shape the circumstances that defined plantation life and work. Their response to the harsh conditions in the plantations, initially limited to individual resistance, soon developed into an organized undertaking. The efforts of Filipinos at labor organizing during the 1920s and the 1940s are probably their greatest contribution to the history of Hawaii's diverse peoples, because those efforts were exerted under the most difficult conditions, resulting in significant gains for workers of all races and leading to the enlargement of democratic life in Hawaii.

On a typical working day in the plantation, the workers would gather before 5:00 AM, to be conveyed to the cane fields by truck or train. Work began at 6:00 AM. After the lunch and rest period from 11:00 to 12:00 noon, the men worked until 4:00 in the afternoon. There were brief rest periods, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The men labored at weeding, planting, fertilizing, irrigating, or harvesting ten hours each day, twenty-six days a month. Those who wanted to earn more worked thirty days, including Sundays.

The mills operated twenty-four hours a day during harvests; the workers worked in shifts during these periods, averaging nine to ten hours working at either crushing or boiling the cane into molasses and then into brown sugar.

From 80 to 90 percent of field labor was done on the basis of the "piece-work" system, in which the wages of a worker were determined not by the number of hours he worked, but by the amount of work he did. Field laborers were paid by the acre, by the ton, by the yard, or by the foot cultivated. It was customary for Filipinos to work in groups consisting of one ditchman, one assistant ditchman, and twenty laborers. About 5 percent earned the minimum one dollar a day; most of these were men who, because of their age or physical condition, were not capable of tasks requiring considerable physical energy and endurance. The able bodied received at least sixty dollars monthly as cane loaders, fifty as portable track men or cane haulers, seventy-five as seed or cane cutters, or sixty as watchmen.

By 1926, Filipinos comprised more than 50 percent of sugar plantation workers—twenty-six thousand out of forty-five thousand—while the proportion of those in the cane fields was even greater. The lack of opportunities for economic advancement, racial discrimination (Filipinos received less than members of other ethnic groups for the same work), and exploitation by their employers and sometimes by their own countrymen compelled many Filipinos to return home. Those who chose to remain, however, discov-

ered sooner or later that they would have to band together if they were to achieve some improvement in their situation.

Before the formation of the ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) among the plantation workers, all the various nationalities, the Chinese, Hawaiians, Japanese, and Filipinos, fought separately and spontaneously—that is, without planning and without organization. Individual Filipino workers resisted the harsh conditions in the plantations, but such isolated efforts proved futile. As the need to organize was understood by the Filipinos, they therefore became actively involved in forming labor organizations.

The Role of Pablo Manlapit

There can be no discussion of the Filipino contribution to the labor movement without recognizing the role played by Pablo Manlapit, the leader of the Filipino workers and organizer of the early strikes. Manlapit was born in Lipa, Batangas, in the Philippines, where he finished his intermediate grades. He came to Hawaii in 1910 through the HSPA, was soon dismissed from plantation work, then went on to Hilo. He started two newspapers, ran a pool hall, and worked as a salesman and stevedore in Honolulu. He then worked as an interpreter and janitor in a lawyer's office while studying law.

In 1919, he organized the Filipino Labor Union (or Filipino Federation of Labor). Manlapit then conducted a vigorous drive to organize Filipinos in the sugar plantations. He hoped to discourage further Filipino immigration to Hawaii and to inform those in the Philippines of the true working conditions in the plantations.

In 1920, Manlapit, together with Japanese labor organizers, formed the Higher Wage Movement. Post-World War I inflation had driven the cost of living up 40 to 50 percent while prewar wages still prevailed. The Movement demanded higher wages and better working conditions. On 19 January 1920, after the HSPA's rejection of their demands, Manlapit and the Japanese labor leaders called their respective unions out on strike. The entire Filipino and Japanese work force went on strike at Waipahu, Aiea, Waialua, Ewa, Kahuku, and Waimanalo. At the height of the strike, 12,100 workers were evicted from plantation houses. The first interracial strike in Hawaii lasted three months with the HSPA spending several millions of dollars to suppress it.

Despite the setback, Manlapit continued his efforts at organizing the Filipino workers. In 1923, the Higher Wage Movement petitioned the HSPA for a two-dollar day and a forty-hour week. The HSPA rejected the petition; on 1 April 1924, Manlapit called a strike which started in Oahu and later spread to the other islands. The strike was defeated by the use of fresh "imported" workers from the Philippines and an elaborate spy network in the plantation camps. It was, while it lasted, the bloodiest in the history of the labor movement in Hawaii. The most violent incident of the strike occurred at Hanapepe, Kauai, on 9 Sep-

tember 1924, when sixteen strikers and four policemen died, while many more were wounded in a one-sided gun battle between Filipino workers and police.

As a result of the incident, Manlapit and other prominent leaders, along with about sixty workers, were convicted of "conspiracy"; each was sentenced to two years in prison. Manlapit later chose exile from Hawaii, but returned in 1932. Despite the imprisonment of its leadership, however, the strike went on for another three months, all in all lasting eight months.

Filipino labor organizing gradually declined until 1932 when a new Filipino Labor Union was formed by Manlapit, Epifanio Taok, and Antonio Fagel. The HSPA managed to put Taok in jail and to banish Manlapit to the Philipines permanently in 1935. Fagel took the union underground and renamed it Vibora Luviminda. (The first word was the *nom de guerre* of Filipino patriot Artemio Ricarte who was exiled from the Philippines by the Americans for refusing to take the oath of allegiance at the conclusion of the Filipino-American War; the second is a combination of the first syllables of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, the three main island groups of the Philippines). After an intensive campaign to get more workers into the union, Fagel brought it out into the open in June 1936. The strike started at Puunene, Maui. Strikebreakers were again used, while the Philippine commissioner in Washington urged the workers to return to their jobs, as did then Philippine President Manuel L. Quezon. Finally, after eighty-five days, and for the first time in Hawaii's labor history, the HSPA was forced to negotiate. The workers won a 15 percent pay increase.

Fagel could not complete the negotiations, for in May 1937, he too was charged with conspiracy. Following this, the Vibora Luviminda collapsed, and the Puunene strike became the last single-race strike in Hawaii. It was not until after World War II, however, that all plantation workers were finally united into an industry-wide, multiracial union. Perhaps the most significant outcome of the strike—besides the fact that the HSPA finally acknowledged the existence of a union and agreed to negotiate with it—was the support Fagel received from Jack Hall, who was then beginning to organize the ILWU.

Most Filipinos during this phase of their history in Hawaii regarded themselves as temporary residents. Even those with Hawaii-born children still thought of returning to their homeland. By 1940, half of those who had come in the first wave had left Hawaii; of these, two-thirds had gone back to the Philippines and the rest to the mainland.

The goals of those who stayed on in Hawaii seemed to have been the same as when they first came: to make as much money as they could and then return home. Only a small nucleus of a business and semiprofessional class, which wished to establish a successful community in Hawaii, had developed by the '30s.

Scattered over large distances in relatively isolated areas, and largely a transient population, the early Filipinos did not develop any strong community-wide organizations. For the most part, their organizations were shortsighted, temporary, and localized, and unable to act within the community as a whole or effectively outside.

Great Changes

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, anti-Filipino agitation began to grow and eventually climaxed in the passage of the Philippine Independence Act which, ironically, made it possible to ban Filipinos from the United States. Prior to the passage of this bill, Filipinos were considered "wards" of America, in the same way that the United States regards the Guamanians, Samoans, other Pacific Trust Territory nationals, and Puerto Ricans. Technically, they could not be barred from entering the United States.

Under the Philippine Independence Act, an immigration quota of 50 a year was fixed for Filipinos, which was tantamount to exclusion. This was the lowest quota provided any nation, lower than that assigned to the tiny kingdom of Monaco, which at that time had a population of 2,020. However, the

sugar planters in Hawaii managed to include in the act a provision which made it possible for them to continue importing Filipino labor to Hawaii. At the same time, it became impossible for Filipinos to leave Hawaii and move to the mainland. This provision, adopted by Congress at the request of the HSPA, served to tie down Filipino laborers in Hawaii.

This period was the high point of the Great Depression and the Filipinos became major targets of racist attacks on the West Coast. The agitation to exclude and restrict Filipino immigration was part of the movement of right-wing politicians and capitalists in the United States, who sought to build high tariff walls against Philippine commodity exports. Racist American labor leaders joined these political and economic interests in demanding independence for the Philippines so that Filipino labor and Philippine goods could be kept out.

World War II ushered in the most dynamic period in the history of Hawaii. The war provided the impetus to the many social changes that altered the basic aspects of life in the islands. Within a few years following the war, the nearly monolithic control of the Big Five and the haole elite over the social and political life of the islands gave way to a vigorous political party of the non-haole community. Where there had been no labor unions, a powerful and aggressive union emerged. By the 1950s, the monopoly control of the Republican Party and the Big Five over the political life of Hawaii was broken.

In short, the 1950s saw (1) the rise and growth of the labor movement; (2) the development of a middle class in Hawaii, with the Japanese as its main force; (3) the formation of the alliance between labor (ILWU) and the growing middle class and its integration into the Democratic Party which wrested political control from the Republicans; and (4) the eventual acceptance of Hawaii as the fiftieth state of the Union. These were the culmination of a process that began to accelerate at the end of the second World War.

World War II not only changed the traditional attitudes and habits of the people of Hawaii, it also upset the balance of power in the islands. The Big Five oligarchy's political control over Hawaii, indestructible since annexation in 1898, was replaced within twenty-four hours of the Pearl Harbor attack by military control. Only a few hours after the bombs had fallen, martial law was declared and remained in force until 24 October 1944.

The US Army assumed control of the civilian government on the premise that the Japanese might land troops in, and take over, Hawaii. It supervised civil and criminal courts, regulated labor, licensed the press, and controlled public health facilities, hospitals, and public utilities. All prices, food production, and transportation were similarly under military control. Wage rates were frozen and labor contracts suspended for the duration of the war. Certain employees were also frozen in their jobs; in addition, jail sentences were imposed for "absenteeism." The Army also abolished legal holidays and overtime pay for such work days.

Martial law gave rise to widespread discontent among the local and immigrant communities, and further fueled already existing anti-haole feelings. But the Big Five and other businessmen in Hawaii were happy with military rule. In fact, on 27 December 1942, the president of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce wired President Franklin D. Roosevelt protesting any effort to restore civil government. The reasons were obvious. Throughout the war, the businesses of the Big Five prospered under military government, which paid well for property, materiel, and services, and permitted prices to rise while wage levels were frozen. Instead of keeping the status quo intact, however, the war accelerated the spread of democracy in Hawaii.

The years prior to the outbreak of World War II saw the decline of union organizing based on race or nationality and the emergence of a single interracial union, the ILWU.

A Halt to Organizing

But organizing was halted by the war. Between 7 December 1941 and 24 October 1944, labor was ruthlessly suppressed under martial law. It was necessary

for a laborer to obtain a military permit to move from island to island. Plantation workers generally found it impossible to obtain such permits. On Oahu, the workers were not actually frozen in their jobs, but an informal agreement existed between the sugar and pineapple growers and the military not to hire plantation employees for federal and military jobs.

With the end of the war, labor organizers apparently found the environment almost totally new and far more receptive to unionism. In late 1944 and early 1945, petition followed petition to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) requesting union recognition. In 1945, thirty-four union elections resulted in union certification; the following year, there were sixty-one successful certifications.

Many of the immigrant laborers were now citizens —the proportion of citizens in the islands had already increased in the 1930s from 12 percent of the population to 45 percent. These new generation workers were more assertive and knowledgeable about their rights than their parents.

The ILWU completed its organizing in Hawaii ports in 1945; by mid-1946, it had successfully moved into the sugar and pineapple plantations. From a mere nine hundred members in 1944, the ILWU membership rose to more than thirty thousand in 1947. For the first time, the Big Five and the major employers in Hawaii were on the defensive. The balance of power was now shifting toward the workers.

Growing Union Strength

In the first major confrontation between labor and management, the ILWU; demanding a forty-hour work week and the end of the perquisite system (see chapter 2), called a strike of all plantation workers in the sugar industry in 1946—and won. From the late 1940s to 1958, the ILWU systematically unionized Hawaii's workers and led them in dramatic strikes.

The union knew it could not consolidate its newly won victories in the economic field so long as the Big Five continued to control the political system. In the late 1940s, it began to actively support candidates, especially from the Democratic Party, whom it considered prolabor. It was this combination—the strength of the labor movement and the promise of equality for the emerging middle-class Japanese and other ethnic groups with immigrant backgrounds—which finally broke the monopoly of power long held by the Big Five.

After World War II, Hawaii became a major military outpost of the United States. The expansion of the federal government into the territory and the growth of the military-industrial complex created many job opportunities throughout the islands. These job opportunities created the initial basis for the development of a middle class in Hawaii. Many skilled workers were needed to fill jobs in the military bases established all over Oahu. Civil service jobs were opening up as federal agencies and contracts were extended to Hawaii. The territorial government bureaucracy itself was also expanding.

Because the Big Five and other haole businesses still maintained their grip on the economy, the new aspiring class of educated Japanese and Chinese decided that the only way to the top was to capture political power. They began to see that this could be done only by winning control of the Democratic Party machine and then wedding the party to the ILWU.

Within a decade, by 1954, the Democratic Party had captured the majority of seats in the Territorial Legislature. For the first time, the children of immigrants were equal to the haole; they were finally charting the future of Hawaii.

The Republicans soon saw that it was futile to oppose the times. The clock could not be "turned back." A return to oligarchic rule could mean a violent reaction from the local community.

The Haole Retreat

Realizing perhaps that the economic status quo would not be touched, the haole elite made a gracious retreat. They decided that the new middle class—the educated children of the immigrants—only wanted to "make something of themselves"; they did not want to abolish the system they had been born into.

A large number of Filipinos from the plantations

moved into semiskilled and skilled jobs on various government projects, and, at Pearl Harbor, into jobs previously held by Chinese and Japanese. The latter, on the other hand, moved on to jobs in government and public agencies heretofore reserved for haoles, Portuguese, and Hawaiians.

Filipino men replaced Japanese and Chinese as gardeners, truck drivers, and hospital workers. Filipino women replaced Japanese and Chinese women as waitresses and domestics. In sum, Filipinos did not experience as great an upward mobility after the war as the Chinese and the Japanese, perhaps because many Filipinos could not speak or write English well and were largely limited in education. One out of four Filipinos between the ages of fifteen and nineteen (prior to the war) could not read or write. Because most Filipinos before the war (which were depression years) were compelled to concern themselves mainly with economic survival, many Filipino youths did not attend schools, but instead worked to help out their families. There were, therefore, very few who finished high school, and still fewer who graduated from college.

The greatest impact of the Filipinos on Hawaii during this period was in the building of the ILWU. Perhaps no other group was more aware of the necessity for building a strong labor organization that could challenge the power of the Big Five oligarchy than the Filipino workers. Although they were not in the leadership of the labor movement, the Filipinos were the main force in the struggle to establish the ILWU in Hawaii—and therefore the ones who made the greatest sacrifices.

By the 1960s, the Filipinos were still feeling the effects of the handicaps which afflicted them during the first phase of their history in Hawaii. Though many were going home to the Philippines to bring back wives and start families during the '50s, the Filipinos, who were in their middle age by the '60s, still hoped to save enough money to go home and purchase that piece of land they had long dreamt of.

The earlier HSPA policy of importing mainly young, single Filipino men, in short, retarded the development of a Hawaii-born Filipino community. Many of the social organizations formed by Filipinos during this period continued to be temporary and localized, centered largely in the plantations. The ILWU was seen by Filipinos during this time as the organization which had fought for their rights and interests. Many Filipinos rose from the ranks in the

TABLE 3.1.
Sugar Plantation Workers by Ethnic Group: 1922 to 1942

	Number			Percent of Total		
	1922	1932	1942	1922	1932	1942
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	966	615	816	4.4	1.2	2.4
Portuguese	2,533	2,022	2,302	5.7	4.0	6.8
Puerto Rican	1,715	797	646	3.9	1.6	1.9
Other Caucasian	942	900	903	2.1	1.8	2.7
Chinese	1,487	706	302	3.4	1.4	.9
Japanese	16,992	9,395	10,397	38.3	18.8	30.6
Korean	1,170	442		2.6	.9	
Filipino	18,189	34,915	18,135	41.0	69.9	53.4
All Others	408	155	445	.9	.3	1.3
Total	44,402	49,947	33,946			

SOURCES: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1969* (Bulletin 1665); and *Directory of National Unions and Employee Associations* (Bulletin 1750); and records: *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (annual).

union; as such they were regarded as community leaders by their compatriots. It was not until 1959 that broader-based community associations were formed. These organizations, however, were primarily meant to draw the Filipino community into the campaign to make Hawaii the fiftieth state of the United States.

All in all, the Filipino experience in the labor movement has so far not been expressed in organizing for the specific purpose of securing a larger share in decision making. This limited participation in the power structure, while not the only one, is certainly one of the more important reasons why Filipinos have not advanced as rapidly in Hawaii as other ethnic groups.

4

Looking Back: The Roots of the Present

Filipinos now constitute the fourth largest ethnocultural group in Hawaii. They number approximately 100 thousand and comprise more than 11 percent of the total state population. As a whole, they occupy the lower strata of the state's social and economic life. The median income of employed Filipinos in 1975 was $6,554, much lower than for all Oahu residents, higher only than the median income of Samoans and Blacks. This was in spite of the fact that a larger proportion of Filipinos than of Oahu residents as a whole were in the labor force, thus reflecting the concentration of Filipinos in more readily available, less prestigious, and lower-paying occupations. Proportionally fewer Filipinos were in professional and technical management occupations than members of other ethnic groups. Filipinos were second to Hawaiians in the least number engaged in clerical and sales occupations.

To determine why Filipinos occupy the lower levels of the socioeconomic system, students of Filipino immigration have examined the influence of government policies, institutional practices, and general social conditions on Filipino responses to their environment in Hawaii. In addition, they have attempted to study the community itself and its history, and have concluded that among the factors affecting Filipino status are: their predominantly rural origins; their recent arrival in Hawaii and their consequently slower rate of urbanization; their lower levels of education; as well as patterns of stratification and inequality which tend to run along ethnic lines in Hawaii. All are high on the list of obstacles to Filipino advancement.

Popular mythology in Hawaii, however, would ascribe the low socioeconomic status of Filipinos to allegedly "low levels of aspiration." This view implies that neither history, prevailing social circumstances, nor discriminatory practice based on stereotyping matter; that the fault is entirely that of Filipinos themselves. If they are generally poorly educated and poorly paid, and engaged in the least prestigious occupations, it is because this is what they want—these are the limits of their aspirations.

Both the paucity of materials on Philippine history, culture, and values, as well as the popular tendency to neglect the particularities of the Filipino experience in Hawaii ("We made it—why can't they?") have contributed to the myth that Filipinos do not value education and are content with low-level and low-paying jobs. It is especially ironic that this

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should be a popular misconception in Hawaii: among recent arrivals from the Philippines, the idea that Filipinos do not value education is completely alien to their own culture, among whose most cherished values is the pursuit of education as a primary means through which one may not only enhance the quality of one's life, but acquire status and prestige as well.

The contention that Filipinos do not value education simply will not stand scrutiny. During a visit to Hawaii, the noted Filipina sociologist Hollnsteiner was shocked at this stereotype when she discovered it was common in Hawaii, and regarded it as evidence of a lack of local knowledge of Philippine culture.

Literacy is in fact one of the major sources of parental delight. "Parents often proudly relate how their children can read books" (Jocano 1966). Kuhn and Kuhn (1966) state that respect for learning is traditional in Philippine society. Before the American conquest of the Philippines, the Malolos Constitution of 1898 stipulated that "popular education shall be obligatory and free in the schools of the nation." Education ranks high in the list of priorities of Filipino individuals and families of whatever social class, and Filipino literacy stands at 85 percent, second only to Japan's in Asia.

In Hawaii, a survey (Nagoshi 1976) of recently arrived Filipino immigrants included a question on how they would spend two thousand dollars. Sixty per cent said they would use it for the education of their children. In an informal survey of college students at the University of Hawaii in 1979,* no differences were found between Filipinos and other ethnic groups as to educational aspirations and career ambitions. It is of great interest that the Catholic school student population in Hawaii is 40 percent Filipino, suggesting that a Catholic school education is regarded by many Filipino parents as of high quality, for which they are willing to pay a relatively high tuition.

It is apparent that the racially attributed "lack of appreciation of education" and "unwillingness to improve their social and economic status" do not exist as assumptions among Filipinos, or if they do, do not proceed from the values of their culture, which defines "the good life" in terms of (1) strengthening, extending, and securing the bonds of neighborliness, (2) establishing a family of which one may be proud, and (3) improving one's socioeconomic position as a legacy for the next generation (Nydegger and Nydegger 1966). Several studies on Filipinos in Hawaii bear out the view that Filipinos did try and are trying to achieve these life goals.

*A non-random survey conducted by the University's Operation Manong among one hundred students at UH-Manoa.

The Good Life and the "First Wave" (1907–1932)

The first goal, neighborliness, translates into *panagkakadua* in Ilokano, "feeling and behaving with responsibility and good will towards one another." In Waialua, the first wave of immigrants (1907–1932) resulted in a predominantly male population drawn from various places in the Philippines, who were largely in Hawaii only for brief periods (Alcantara 1975). Filipinos attempted to "strengthen and extend the bonds of neighborliness and made them secure" by adapting to the new environment patterns of kinship in the Philippines, by developing kinship systems through the rituals of baptisms and weddings, and by organizing themselves along kinship lines. In the process, they developed artificial kinship systems to replace the all-important "alliance"* system existing in the rural areas of the Philippines.

The goal of establishing "a family of which one may be justifiably proud," was, however, practically beyond reach during this period. Wages were inadequate and Filipinas generally not available, while those men who were married often found it necessary to send their families back to the Philippines.

The Filipino population at this time was, therefore, largely composed of familyless men. Those men

*The alliance is the Philippine basis for social interaction (Hollnsteiner 1963). It is a sometimes nebulous, shifting, but generally long-lasting and identifiable network of relatives and friends bound by mutual rights and obligations.

who were married had to fear a practice known as *coboy-coboy*. This practice, the abduction of married women by other Filipinos, may be attributed to the highly disproportionate sex ratio. Knowledge of the existence of this threat must also have served to dissuade other young men from marriage—if it had at all been possible for them. That non-Filipina women were not completely unavailable is true, yet it may be noted that interracial marriages involving Filipinos showed the highest divorce frequencies which, as of 1927, must have discouraged marriages and, therefore, the establishment of viable families among Filipinos.

Despite the prevalence of familyless men, there were a few Filipino families that managed to stay together at this time in Hawaii. Since educational attainment in a family is a value in which a Filipino takes pride, the performance of the children of these families was important. What was accomplished must be viewed, however, within the context in which these families have had to struggle.

Educational opportunities during this period were characterized by what Senator Daniel Inouye has called "subtle segregation" through tracking (Inouye, as cited in Wright 1972). Beginning in 1924, children who could pass written and oral tests in standard English went to English Standard Schools, while those who failed the tests went to "nonstandard" schools. This duality in the school system was reflective of existing racial and social stratifications. In addition to the stigma attached to attending a nonstandard school was the low priority these schools had in terms of funding. "A major part of the legislatively appropriated money went to the English Standard Schools" (Wright 1972). "Even so, some of the leaders of the business community thought the education being offered to public school students was excessive" (Daws 1968).

Dr. A. L. Dean, then president of the University of Hawaii, believed that the system was undemocratic. Governor Farrington, however, recommended that the superintendent of schools open a school for domestic service for the Filipinos to attend (Fuchs 1961). Farrington's recommendation was part of a widespread advocacy for a kind of schooling that would "discourage theorists . . . and encourage students to prepare themselves for work on the plantation" (Prossner Report, as quoted in Wright 1972).

The data on Filipino literacy and school attendance, then, must be seen, at least in part, as an indictment of the educational establishment of the time, not as an indication of Filipinos "not valuing education."

> In 1930, 3 out of every 10 Filipinos, including children, were illiterate . . . even among the youngest and strongest —those 15–19—nearly 1 out of 4 could *not* read or write . . . 50% [of all Filipinos] were unable to speak English. . . . Only 3 teachers in the territory were Filipino. . . . Only 24.2% of the eligible 16- and 17-year-old Filipinos attended schools . . . .(Fuchs 1961)

Where real lack of respect for education can be validly identified in the Filipino population of Hawaii, one is tempted to speculate that these Filipinos have been here long enough to recognize the limitations built into the extant system and to foresee that better chances for the good life may lie outside that system.

For the first wave of Filipino immigrants, the goal of improving one's socioeconomic condition was equally difficult to attain. Plantation employment required ten to twelve hours of work a day under extremely difficult living and working conditions. The histories of immigrant laborers in general include the same list of grievances: no job security, the threat of arbitrary dismissal on petty and often unsubstantiated charges, or for "insubordination," and the lack of formal channels for redressing grievances. (Perhaps less well known is the fact that this denial of civil rights for Filipinos was aggravated by the decision of Attorney General John A. Matthewman, legal spokesman for the territory, that the Filipino field-workers were "neither citizens nor aliens" since they came from a commonwealth then governed by the United States; as the Filipinos were not born on American soil, Matthewman declared that they were "subjects" while living in the territory of Hawaii.

This, observed Wright [1972], was "a rather unusual term in a democratic society." Unlike immigrants from China and Japan, therefore, Filipinos could turn neither to a representative of their home country nor to the Hawaii government for protection.)

Lack of progress in their socioeconomic condition eventually led Filipinos to participate in at least nine labor strikes throughout the islands between 1909 and 1925, including the big strikes of 1920 and 1924. Pablo Manlapit was the best-known Filipino labor organizer during this period. The fact that elderly Filipinos still speak of him with respect (Reinecke, as cited by Sharma 1975) is a reflection of a Philippine tradition which highly regards oppositionists (institutionalized in the Philippines in the role of "fiscalizer"). This tradition, an offshoot of three hundred years of Filipino resistance to Spain, and later, of the war with the United States (Filipino opposition to US annexation required 120 thousand US troops fighting for at least six years to control it [Constantino 1969]) is little recognized in Hawaii, in large part due to the general lack of historical and cultural material on Filipinos in Hawaii schools. The strikes of 1920 and 1924 were in this sense an expression of the Filipinos' historic opposition to injustice.

The absence of opportunities outside plantation work frustrated those Filipinos seeking higher socioeconomic status. Several elderly Filipinos have suggested that Honolulu firms blacklisted Filipinos, who left plantation employment. Filipinos, as wards of the United States, were generally not eligible for public employment because of the 1900 Hawaii Organic Act which barred non-American citizens from public employment. These conditions led some Filipinos to leave Hawaii, a few to seek opportunity on the mainland, and the rest to return to the Philippines (e.g., out of 64,553 men, 5,673 women, and 4,016 children, 12,217 men, 1,333 women, and 2,051 children had returned to the Philippines by 1925 [Alcantara 1972]). In Waialua, of the more than 1,000 Filipinos assigned to the sugar company between 1909 and 1920, only 9 were still in the plantation town in 1948.

In 1934, the Philippine Independence (Tydings-McDuffie) Act declared Filipinos aliens and restricted their entry to Hawaii and the United States to an annual quota of fifty persons. During the same time that this exclusionary quota was instituted, the naturalization laws of the Philippines were subject to control by American authorities. Under that control, American citizens were permitted to enter the Philippines in any manner without restriction and without being subject to any special penalties or discrimination.

A further irony for those who had chosen to remain in Hawaii's plantations was that just when conditions were beginning to improve because of the strikes, the fifty-person-per-year quota made it almost impossible for a married man to send for his family.

The "Second Wave": Continuing Difficulties

In 1945, the HSPA and the Pineapple Growers' Association declared a labor shortage and invoked Section 8 of the Tydings-McDuffie Act which provided for exemptions for demonstrated labor needs. An exemption was granted and the governor of Hawaii authorized the importation of new Filipino workers for the plantations. This led to the arrival in 1946 of approximately seven thousand workers, four hundred fifty wives, and nine hundred children.

During the 1946 recruitment, plantation workers pursued the opportunity to increase their alliance networks by requesting the recruitment of male kin between eighteen and forty years of age. Many more requests were made than were granted. Waialua, for example, had a quota of only 207 workers, far below the 368 male relatives requested (Alcantara 1975).

In addition to the local exemption, the federally determined annual immigration quota was raised from fifty to one hundred persons in 1946. This quota was still far below the number of Filipino petitions for entry for immediate family members.

The second wave period (1945–1946) saw some improvement in opportunities for educational advancement, a major factor contributing to family pride. In 1947, the dual school system was struck down in

Hawaii. Department of Public Instruction figures in 1947 showed that Filipinos comprised approximately 10 percent and 7 percent respectively of students in public and private schools (Hormann and Kasdon, 1959). In spite of individual accomplishments of Filipino students, group images regarding supposedly "inherent" traits continued to plague Filipinos as a whole, as Samuels' 1962 interview of a Manoa resident of Japanese ancestry suggests (Samuels 1970):

Samuels (S): What is the picture that you have of Filipinos? When you think of them, what comes to your mind?
Respondent (R): They are moody and quick-tempered. It is in their blood.
S: How did you form this image of them?
R: From the papers, things people say.
S: Have you ever known any Filipinos personally?
R: Yes, one. He was our class president at Iolani.
S: Did he fit the picture you painted of Filipinos?
R: No, he was calm and pleasant.
S: Then the moodiness and quick temper could not have been "in his blood" could they?
R: (pause; then a shy smile) He was an exception.

During the second wave period, pursuit of the third major life goal, improvement of one's socioeconomic condition, was aided by federal legislation that provided for collective bargaining. The first union contract for sugar workers was finally signed at McBryde Sugar Company in Kauai in 1940 (Melendy 1978). By 1946 (as discussed in chapter 3), the ILWU had unionized all plantation workers in Hawaii, finally securing for them job tenure, seniority benefits, a formal pension plan, strict job classifications, formal arbitration of worker grievances, and universal standards for job access and promotion. By this time in Waialua, medical and recreational facilities had been established, mechanization had eased some of the work, and most important for socioeconomic security, in 1953 workers were offered the opportunity to buy plantation homes (Alcantara 1973). Housing options varied widely among plantations, however. In some, the option to buy was not offered; in others, verbal agreements for lifelong use were substituted; in still others, written agreements were relinquished or not honored when ownership of the plantations changed hands. Despite continuing difficulties in the economic sphere and in establishing solid family and alliance ties, however, Filipinos by the end of the 1950s were increasingly inclined to stay and to call Hawaii home.

The "Third Wave": Reuniting Families

The 1965 Immigration Act abolished the national origin quota system which had discriminated against Eastern Hemisphere countries. The Philippine quota increased from the one hundred-per-year set in 1946 (up from fifty in 1934) to the per-country limit of twenty thousand (not including exempt classes such as spouses and children of US citizens) set by the new act.

Filipinos in Hawaii were quick to realize that this liberalized law had implications for their major life goals; many petitioned for the entry of extended-family kin. Between 1970 and 1976, 26,626 Filipinos were admitted to Hawaii, and Filipinos now represent an estimated 54 percent of immigrant aliens in the state (State Immigrant Services Center 1978). Cariño's (1978) data show that Filipinos are concentrated in the adjacent areas of Kalihi-Kapalama and Upper Kalihi, and in Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo, suggesting "the persistence of ethnic and kinship networks among Filipinos." Almost half of all Filipinos on Oahu lived in these districts in 1975. More than one-third of all Kalihi-Kapalama residents were Filipino. Approximately one-fourth of Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo residents were Filipino.

The goal of family reunification was explicitly embodied in the legislative and administrative changes resulting from the 1965 Immigration Act. The law allocated 74 percent of all visas to relatives of American citizens and permanent residents. These features of the law helped numerous Filipinos realize two previously unattainable objectives: (1) bringing in

immediate family members they had left behind earlier; and (2) acquiring new brides from the Philippines. Many elderly Filipinos, although already retired or nearing retirement, had not given up their goal of establishing families. In Maunaloa, for example, approximately 44 percent of all immigrants arrived after 1965, and the large majority of these post-1965 immigrants were young women who had met and married elderly Filipinos from the plantations while these men were visiting the Philippines (Forman 1967). While problems of unmet expectations, disagreements regarding child rearing, and other difficulties do exist within these marriages, a considerable number are stable and relatively harmonious. The birth and baptism of a child of one of these couples is one of the most important celebrations in the town.

Recent studies provide some information on the status of Filipino families during the third wave period. Sybinsky (1977) suggests that the traditional family (as opposed to female family heads) characterizes Filipino, Hawaiian, and immigrant groups in Kalihi-Palama. Higgenbotham and Marsella (1977) cite separation from family (among some immigrants in the same area of Kalihi-Palama) and the incidence and threat of divorce as sources of stress. Filipinos keenly feel the burdens and expenses of child rearing. Some cannot afford to buy things children need for school and are saddened by the absence of relatives who can care for children when both parents are at work. Future educational and economic opportunities for children are, as with most groups, daily topics of intense concern and planning. In Maunaloa, most Filipinos believe that educational opportunities for children are enhanced by their staying in the United States, yet a few still intend to send (or have already sent) their children back to prestigious schools in the Philippines, where it is felt the children will get equally good education or better, and at the same time be spared discrimination in Hawaii's schools resulting from continuing stereotypes regarding Filipinos. They also feel that the children will learn to value some of the same things that the parents value, and that this might reduce serious intergenerational problems (mainly children's rejection of parents) that they feel now characterize too many Filipino households in Hawaii. Some Filipino groups are advocating bilingual/bicultural education, both as a desirable educational approach in a multicultural community and as a means of preserving the integrity of families. It is felt that if the value of bilingual/bicultural skills can be increased in the host society, children will be less likely to perceive their parents as out of touch with the contemporary world. It is, however, difficult to determine the extent to which this approach is supported in Filipino communities. Surveys have been conducted with contradictory results—some with majorities for, some with majorities against this approach to education.

How do Filipino children fare in Hawaii's public school system? Data from the Hawaii Association of Asian and Pacific Peoples show that Filipinos are found in greater numbers in schools with low achievement scores and that, in 1970, 39.4 percent of Filipinos sixteen years old and older completed high school compared to 65.1 percent of Chinese and 61.3 percent of Japanese.

A 1971 study on Kauai showed Hawaiian and Filipino children at age ten to have the largest percentage of Ds or Fs in reading, writing, or arithmetic: "One child out of every two Hawaiian and Filipino children had such problems" (Werner, Bierman, and French, 1971).

Filipino respondents to a recent survey (Higgenbotham amd Marsella, 1977), however, expressed a strong desire to make up for educational deficiencies, although these deficiencies may be largely due to external factors beyond their control. Among these factors are the expectations of teachers, which, it turns out, have a bearing on the achievements of schoolchildren.

Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) classic study shows that children are indeed influenced by the expectations of their teachers. In the Rosenthal-Jacobson experiments, teachers were told that certain children were brighter and were expected to do better than the others. There were actually no such differ-

ences because the children had been randomly assigned to the control or experimental groups. Those who were "expected" to show greater intellectual gains actually performed better in objective tests. The authors of this study suggest that poor and ethnic-minority children perform poorly in school because that is what is expected of them. "In other words, [their] shortcomings may originate not in [their] different ethnic, cultural and economic backgrounds but in [their] teachers' response to that background." In like manner, Filipino youth may be evaluated and may perform poorly in the classroom because that is what is "expected": they respond to the way other people stereotype or label them. It is probable, then, that a significant problem facing Filipinos in the educational system is their own poor self-image, as well as the attitudes and responses of the educational system itself.

A related problem that has educational implications is the underrepresentation of Filipinos in positions of authority (in the private and public sector), particularly in the school system. The most recent data still show that Filipino teachers and administrators make up only 2 percent of the Department of Education's (DOE) teaching and administrative staff, although Filipinos comprise 18 percent of the student population.

The Oahu Filipino Community Council, an umbrella organization for more than sixty Filipino civic organizations on Oahu, has addressed itself on numerous occasions to what it sees as barriers to equal educational opportunity, including the disproportionately small number of Filipino teachers and administrators in the DOE, disproportionate placement of Filipino children in special education classes, disproportionate expulsion of Filipino students, and language discrimination.

The Employment Picture

The unemployment rate for Oahu Filipinos as a whole in 1975 was 7.3 percent, lower than that of Oahu residents as a whole (7.9 percent) (Cariño and Gardner, 1978). Unemployment rates were higher, however, among third-wave immigrants (9.6 percent) than for those in the first two waves (Cariño, 1978, Table 21). The unemployment level among the non-migrant Filipino population (10.5 percent) was much higher than among the foreign born (6.5 percent), suggesting that the immigrant population has "accepted lower-paying, servile types of jobs when compared with the non-migrants."

Filipinos report job dissatisfaction and difficulties in seeking employment—problems they react to with anger, unhappiness, and discouragement. Lim (1971) reports that, in her sample, in attempting to find solutions to some of these problems, 33 percent go to relatives and friends, 34 percent do not know where to go, 17 percent go to banks, 10 percent go to agencies, 3 percent go to counselors, and 3 percent go to churchmen, but to the latter only for advice. Higgenbotham and Marsella (1977) report that Filipinos cite the slowness, inefficiency, and negligence of public agency assistance; to these they react with anger and impatience. They are "torn between persistently confronting the system with their needs and requirements and simply giving up by avoiding further direct dealings with the agencies."

Knowledge of the Past

Filipinos feel they are better able to function normally when they have developed extensive alliance systems that involve regular and predictable exchanges of goods and services, involving many households, in an atmosphere of responsibility and good will. Their coping behaviors over the years reflect this value. No doubt there have been violations of the behavior norms associated with the value, which is itself undergoing continual change. Parents in Maunaloa, Molokai, expressed their concern that they were not successfully passing on their own notions of the good life to their children. Their older children, they claimed, were succumbing to the pressures to adopt life goals which were ranked in reverse order to the parents'—economic productivity and financial status

first, family and pride next, and neighborliness last, if at all. Their younger children also needed to be disciplined constantly for "disrespectful behavior" towards alliance members. The parents attribute these failures to what they call a growing "immorality" among second generation children, associated with lack of concern for the elderly, who are integral and revered members of alliance systems in the Philippines, and in decreasing evidence of helping behavior among their siblings.

TABLE 4.1.
Years of Schooling Completed by Filipinos at Least Twenty-five Years of Age, 1977

Years of Schooling	Number of people (out of a total 53,399)
None	3,300
1 to 4	6,789
5 to 8	9,178
9 to 11	4,824
12	13,941
Vocational	2,205
13 to 15	6,190
16	4,053
17 or more	1,125
Not reported	1,794

SOURCE: State of Hawaii Department of Education.

No doubt these are manifestations of the strong pressures of the larger society, in which accommodating group goals to extend affiliative networks is regarded as alien. Concern over this erosion of those values which have proved useful in the past is most eloquently expressed today by leaders of Hawaiian movements. The similarity between Hawaiian and Filipino notions of human dignity and accomplishment, with their identical emphases on affiliation and interpersonal harmony, suggests that the passage of time *alone* will do little more for Filipinos in Hawaii than it has done for Hawaiians.

When material benefits and employment opportunities are evaluated in the light of larger issues, such as alliance preservation, it can sometimes happen, as it has in the case of several ambitious young men in Maunaloa, Molokai, that good jobs are passed up in consideration of a father's or uncle's interests. A social service worker regarded these actual instances as "un-American" and deviant, as they indeed are from the perspective of the dominant culture.

This is, of course, not to argue that increasing socioeconomic opportunities are undesirable (as this paper has made clear). Increasing socioeconomic opportunities are important factors in maintaining

TABLE 4.2.
Employed Male Filipino Civilians and Major Occupations, 1940 to 1977

Occupations	Year				
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1977
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, including Farm	177	458	455	711	1,004
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	198	511	823	1,682	2,005
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	373	1,893	4,620	5,562	4,694
Operatives and Kindred Workers	1,153	3,850	4,572	5,033	4,143
Service Workers, including Household	491	1,039	1,015	3,761	3,479

SOURCE: State of Hawaii Department of Labor.

alliances. Balance (in terms of prior goals as well as use of material benefits) is ideally a matter of choice.

It has become increasingly unfashionable in Hawaii to discuss ethnicity at all, on the grounds that it is "divisive" (existing chasms among groups notwithstanding). There is cause for optimism, however, in the work of many individuals: teachers, counselors, members of ethnocultural organizations, agency workers, and others who work directly with the large numbers of young Filipinos in the state, encouraging them to understand and evaluate their heritage and to recognize the people who shaped and gave dignity to it. The answers to the questions in the minds of these young Filipinos, such as who they are and what they want to become, could perhaps be provided less by today's often short-sighted and inward-looking psychology, than by a sharpened knowledge of the past, and of learning to apply this knowledge to the shaping of their own lives.

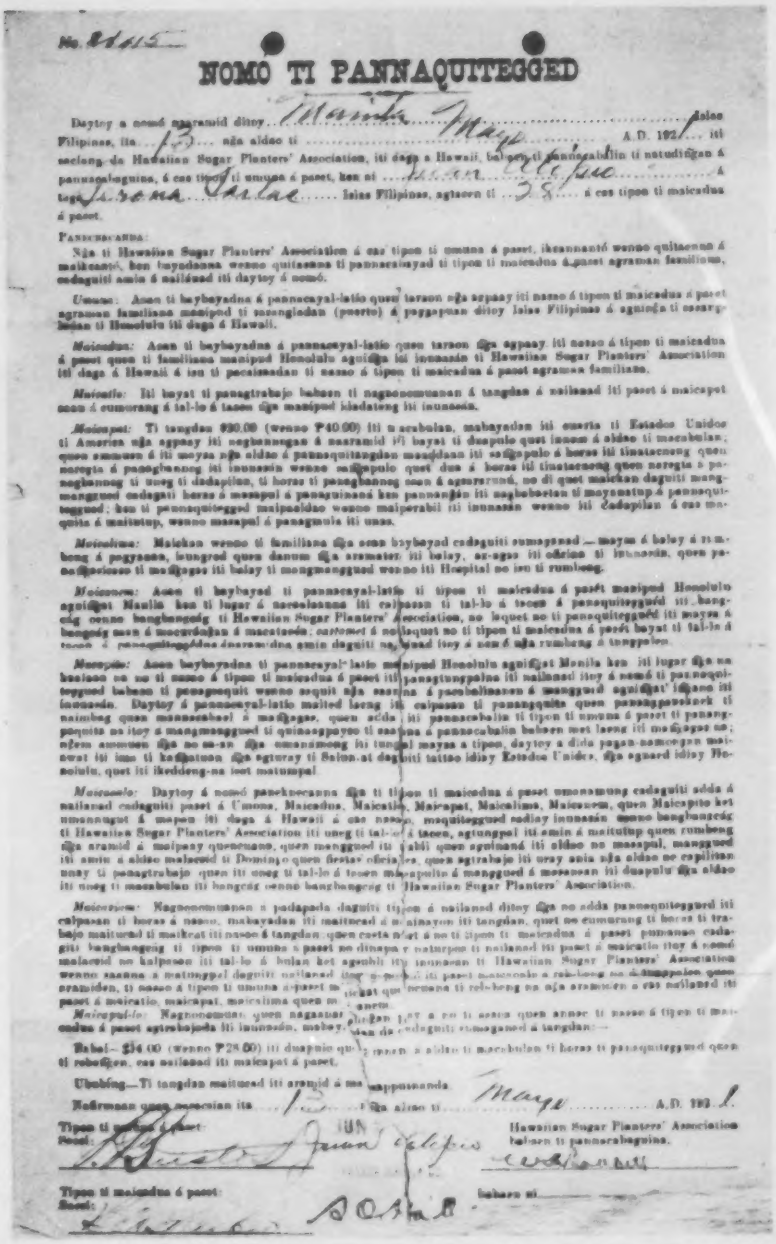
Unlike these immigrants, newly-arrived in the 1920s, the majority of the Filipino plantation workers arrived without their families. (Courtesy of Philippine Studies Program, University of Hawaii at Manoa)

Plantation work was backbreaking labor. The men worked a ten-hour day, six days a week. (Courtesy of Hawaii State Archives)

Lunchtime afforded one of the few moments of rest. (Courtesy of Philippine Studies Program, University of Hawaii at Manoa)

Pablo Manlapit (right), here photographed with Norberto C. Villanueva, began the organization of Filipino plantation workers. (Courtesy of A. Villanueva-Tongg)

Some of the earliest Filipino arrivals, among them Basilio Agsalud, served in the U.S. Infantry during the First World War. (Courtesy of Joshua Agsalud. Photograph by N. Murakoshi)

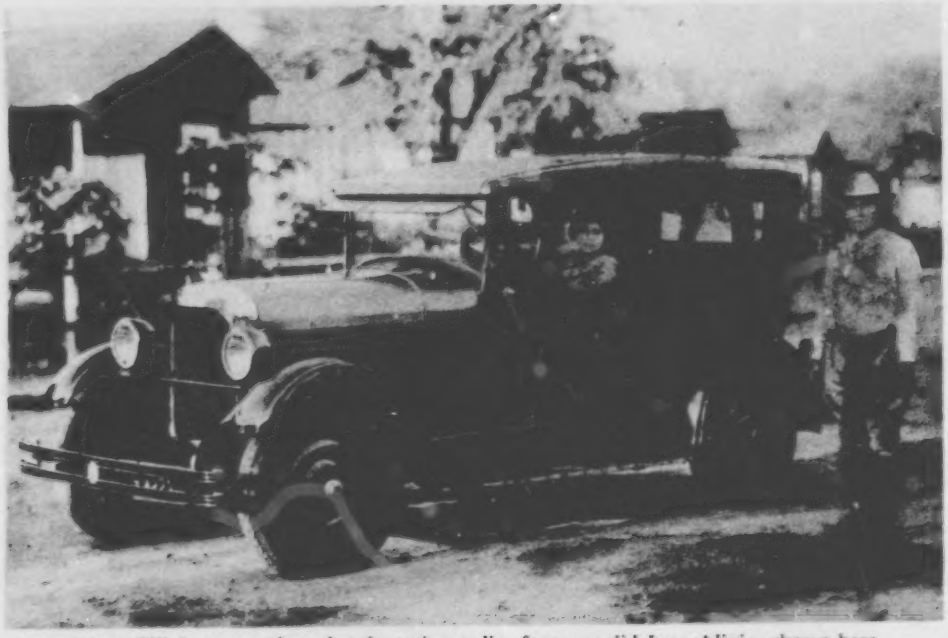


NOMO TI PANNAQUITEGGED

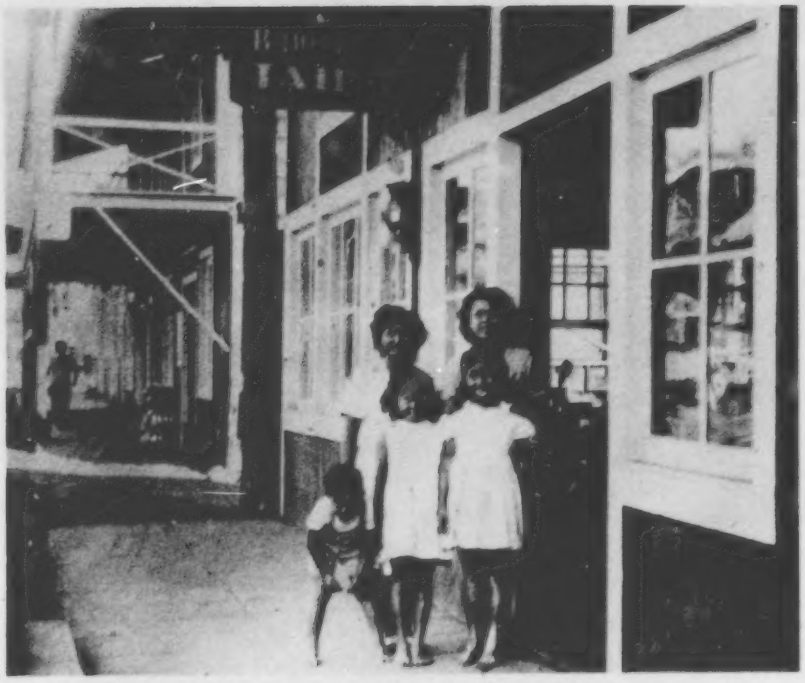
This contract between Juan Alipio and the HSPA, written in Ilokano, was signed 13 May 1921. (Courtesy of Esperanza A. Alipio)

Although there were relatively few women in the Filipino community prior to 1946, organizations such as the Filipino Women's Club of Waialua (above) and the Filipino Women's YMCA of Honolulu flourished. (Courtesy of E. A. Alipio and Adoracion Giron-Remular)

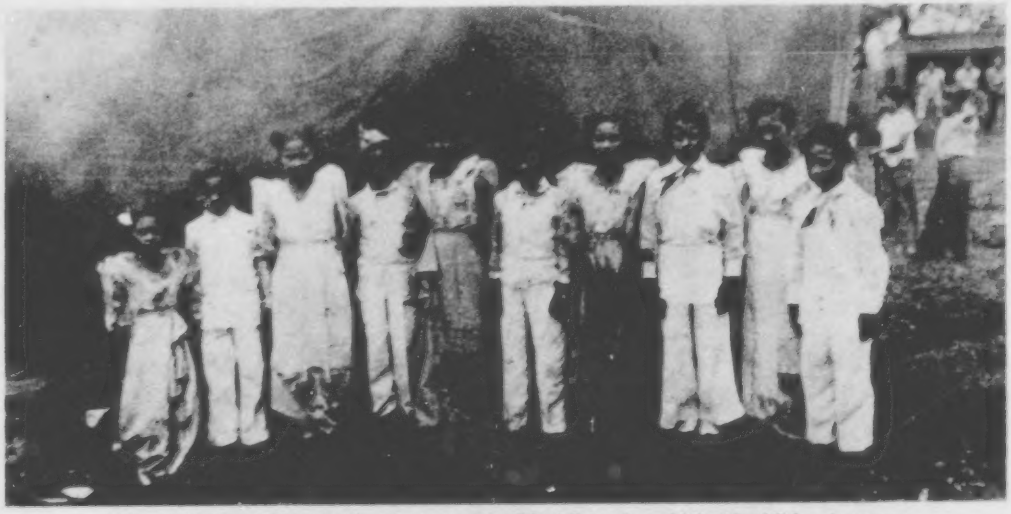
In keeping with Filipino practice, important events, such as this death in the Agsalud family, were faithfully recorded. (Courtesy of Joshua Agsalud)



Many Filipinos served on the plantation police force, as did Juan Alipio, shown here with his wife, Esperanza. (Courtesy of E. A. Alipio)



Many of the Filipino workers had other skills. Bienvenido Domingo established a tailoring shop in Haleiwa, Oahu. Unlike many other immigrants, his wife and children were with him. (Courtesy of E. Domingo)



The celebration of patriotic events, such as Rizal Day, for which this children's troupe had danced, served as reminders of the homeland. (Courtesy of M. Apostol)

The closest of ties were established among families. Four families are shown in this get-together photograph: the Ligots, the Reyeses, the Gonzalezes and the Velascos. (Courtesy of C. V. Reyes, Jr.)

Some Filipinos, such as Isabelo Giron (center, kneeling), also served as lunas on the plantations. They were, however, exceptions. (Courtesy of A. Giron-Remular)

The desire for family life did lead to some marriages in the 1920s, such as the wedding of Martin and Irene Luna. Firmer ties of kinship were thus established between people who were otherwise not related. (Courtesy of M. Luna)

Faustino Gregorio, who later played with the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra, was band leader of the 43rd Infantry, U.S. Army. (Courtesy of A. Gregorio)

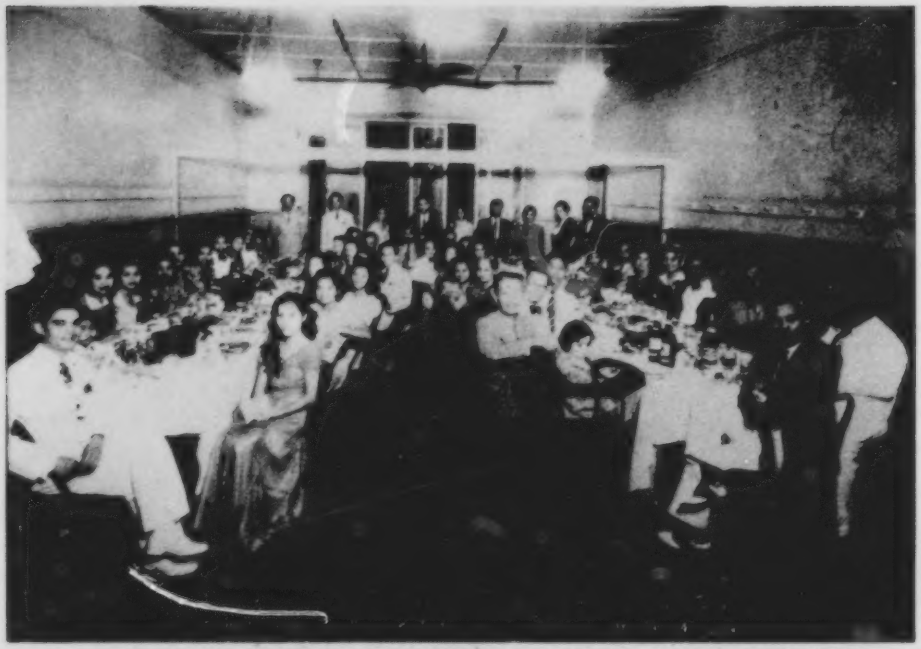
Two generations: Basilio and Luciana Agsalud and their children. Waipahu, Oahu, ca. 1932. (Courtesy of J. Agsalud)

A family gathering often included townmates, as in this get-together of the Fuertes family. (Courtesy of M. Apostol)

This family of three generations, on a picnic at Waimanalo Beach, by the 1940s had decided to stay on in Hawaii. (Courtesy of M. Luna)

The Insular Life baseball team from Manila played at the Maui County Fair in 1938.
(Courtesy of A. Villanueva-Tongg)

Filipino plantation workers contributed to the war effort in the 1940s, as in this war bond campaign. (Courtesy of Hawaii State Archives)



Freemasonry, probably as a legacy of the Philippine revolution, flourished among Filipinos. Filipino masons and their families gather for a banquet in Honolulu in 1941. (Courtesy of A. Gregorio; photograph by City Photo)

Filipinos established a number of civic organizations in Hawaii, such as the Timarau Club, whose officers in the mid-1950s are shown here. (Courtesy of P. Remular Forondo)

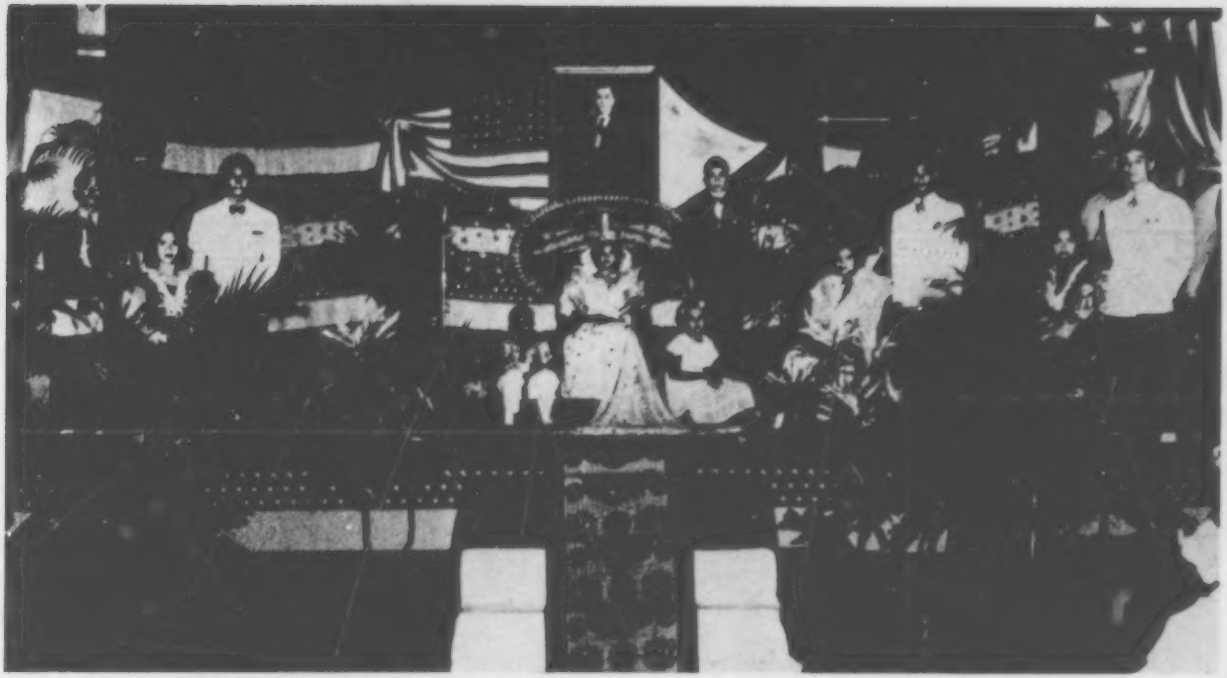
These children of Filipino plantation workers attended the Gaines Day School in Wahiawa, 1937. (Courtesy of A. Gregorio)

By 1940, the Lunas, married in the 1920s, had established themselves firmly in Hawaii. (Courtesy of M. Luna)

These Filipinos were crew members of the U.S.S. Hornet during the last years of the Second World War. (Courtesy of L. Fontanilla)

This *Santacruzan* festival had a patriotic motif. (Courtesy of M. Alvaro)

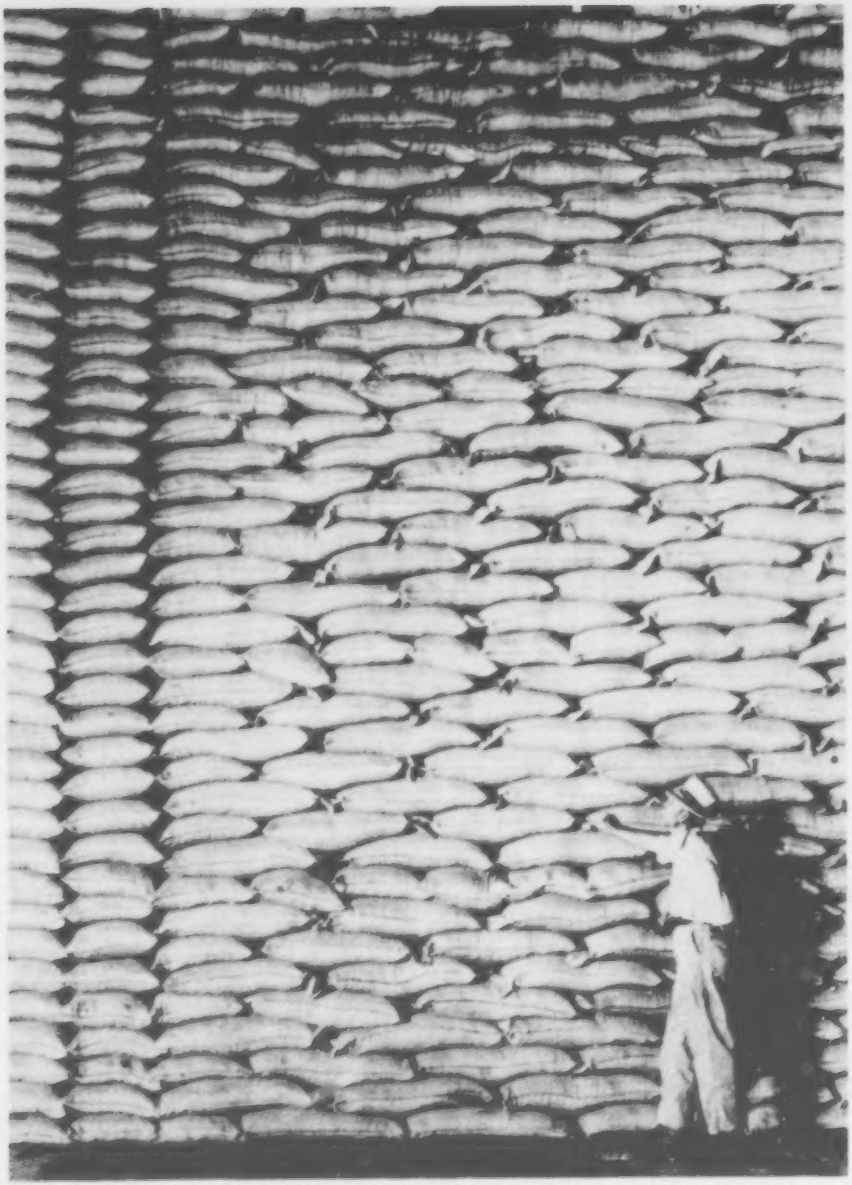
A *Rigodon* (an elaborate Visayan dance of Spanish influence) completed this celebration of Rizal Day. (Courtesy of Adoracion Giron-Remular)



Beauty Contests such as this one held during the Commonwealth Era (Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon's photograph graces the occasion) are fairly common among the various Filipino communities in Hawaii. (Courtesy of C. V. Reyes, Jr.)

A Filipino tennis team displays its victory trophy. (Courtesy of A. Villanueva-Tongg)

Known all over Asia as talented musicians, many Filipinos play musical instruments. Here a group entertains at a party at Ewa plantation. (Courtesy of J. C. Dionisio)



Sugar was what Filipino immigration to Hawaii was all about. Basilio Agsalud contemplates this wall of bagged sugar at the Oahu Sugar Company, 1957. (Courtesy of J. Agsalud)

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) which counts a large number of Filipinos among its members, contributed to the Jose Rizal Centennial Fund Campaign in 1961. (Courtesy of J. C. Dionisio)

5

Ethnicity and Upward Mobility: The Filipina in Hawaii

A sharpened aw reness of the past, of course, recalls, among other fi o's, that for a long time Filipino women—or Filip: —were rare in the Filipino community and that, a a consequence, there were few stable families among the first Filipino immigrants. Since 1965, however, with the reunification of families and the increase in the number of Filipino men marrying Filipinas from the Philippines, there has been a sudden infusion of women into the Filipino immigrant community. This development made possible the establishment of fairly widespread familial ties within a commu ity which was for some time denied the stabilizing influence of an institution of primary importance in Philippine culture. At the same time, developments both in the United States and the Philippines eroded the traditional self-image of the Filipina as shy, retiring, and defenseless; the new breed of Filipinas of immigrant background, whether local born or recent arrivals, are substantially more aware of their rights and individual worth than their grandmothers. For this reason, it may not be overly speculative to say that the influx of women into the Filipino community, as well as the coming of age of many articulate, local-born Filipinas, is one of the most significant developments in the history of Filipino immigration to Hawaii.

Of the ten racial and ethnic groups which make up the female population in Hawaii—that is, Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Puerto Rican, Portuguese, Polynesian, Filipino, and Black —Filipino women were among the last to come to Hawaii. Filipinas started to arrive in significant numbers only in the 1920s and 1930s, mostly as plantation wives and family members, generally from the far-flung barrios of the Ilokano provinces in Northern Philippines, although many also came from the Visayas region. "Like their sisters before them from China, Japan, and Portugal, these early Filipinas sprang, almost without exception, from peasant stock, with very little or no formal education" (Iranon, in Young and Parrish 1977).

The scarcity of Filipino women was a major problem in the Filipino community until the 1950s. Table 5.1 shows the disproportionately unequal sex ratio between Filipino men and women during the first half of this century.

HSPA officials have accounted for the refusal or reluctance of Filipino women to emigrate by alleging that the women feared that if they did come to the territory, they would be without the consolations of their religion. This could have been the opinion of a few women at the time, but it is doubtful if it was held by the majority. The people in the Ilokos region, where the HSPA was doing most of its recruiting,

TABLE 5.1.
Filipinos Going to Hawaii through HSPA 1909–1946

Year	Men	Women	Ratio (M/W)	Children	Total
1909	554	57	8:1	28	639
1910	2,653	169	16:1	93	2,915
1911	1,363	173	8:1	74	1,610
1912	4,319	553	8:1	362	5,234
1913	3,258	573	6:1	351	4,182
1914	1,848	360	5:1	228	2,436
1915	1,363	238	6:1	185	1,786
1916	1,674	141	12:1	134	1,949
1917	2,536	182	14:1	210	2,928
1918	2,196	298	7:1	395	2,889
1919	2,642	312	9:1	278	3,232
1920	3,030	232	13:1	181	3,443
1921	3,982	434	9:1	240	4,656
1922	8,513	704	12:1	457	9,674
1923	4,830	1,482	3:1	787	7,099
1924	4,915	1,414	3:1	648	6,977
1925	9,934	459	22:1	252	10,645
1926	3,960	121	33:1	96	4,177
1927	8,976	95	95:1	88	9,158
1928	10,508	193	55:1	156	10,857
1929	6,971	152	46:1	186	7,309
1930	6,904	177	39:1	291	7,372
1931	5,597	217	26:1	200	6,014
1932	953	151	6:1	122	1,226
1933	9	22	1:2	10	41
1934	25	43	1:2	39	107
1946	6,000	446	14:1	915	7,361
Total	109,513	9,398	12:1	7,006	125,917

SOURCE: Based on HSPA files as compiled by Sister Mary Dorita, "Filipino Immigration to Hawaii" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Hawaii, June 1954), p. 131.

were well known for their migrating and pioneering spirit. Ilokano families at this time were moving to other parts of the Philippines, even to non-Christian and unsettled areas in Mindanao and Cagayan Valley where established religion certainly was absent. It is more reasonable to assume that the main motivations of HSPA agents in recruiting Filipino labor for the Hawaii plantations precluded the importation of women on a large scale. They were looking for cheap labor to work long hours in the fields; the ideal workers would be young, unmarried Filipino men.

Thus, from 1909 to 1950, relatively few women came from the Philippines to settle in Hawaii. It was only during 1923 and 1924 that nearly three thousand women came with their menfolk to the plantations. They were mostly Ilokano women from the northern provinces of Abra, Ilokos Norte, Ilokos Sur, La Union, Pangasinan, and Cagayan. Still, their numbers were disproportionately small in relation to the male population.

The years between 1950 and 1970 saw dramatic changes in the Filipino community in the United States. A great number of the new wave of Filipino immigrants were professional and skilled individuals whose immediate destination in America was an urban area. The sex ratio was balanced quickly, due in part to the normal sex ratio among American-born Filipinos and the fact that the second wave of migrants was more balanced in its composition. By 1970, the Honolulu sex ratio climbed to almost nor-

mal proportions at 3 men to 2 women—a far cry from the 20 to 1 ratios in plantation days. Most of the Filipino women who have come in recent times are doctors, nurses, medical technologists, teachers, secretaries, clerks, and urban workers.

As to the overall role of the pioneering immigrant women from the Philippines in Hawaii's history, a local-born Filipina sums it up this way:

> These were the pioneer women of another age, from the Philippines, who dared to venture into an unknown future in another land. Most of them lived in obscurity, and many of them have since passed on . . . . But their willingness and capacity to endure the drudgery and the hardships and uncertainties of plantation life in those earlier years are as much a part of the history of Hawaii's social and economic progress as their menfolk's contributions have been. They brought with them to Hawaii the customs of their homeland, and the best of their traditions have become part of the cultural mixture that is the beauty and strength of Hawaii. (Iranon, in Young and Parrish, 1977)

Labor Force Participation

One of the most dramatic features of the changing labor force in the United States has been the sharp and steady increase of female participation in recent decades. In 1974, single women constituted 57 percent of the labor force, married 43 percent, divorced or separated 73 percent, and widowed 25 percent (Kreps and Clark, 1975). Contributing greatly to this expansion of the female work force has been the rapid rate of participation of married women, a rate which nearly tripled from the 1940s to the 1970s.

There has also been a significant increase in the participation of ethnic and minority women in the civilian labor force, especially since the 1960s. For instance, only 36 percent of Filipino women in the United States were in the 1960 work force, but in 1970 this figure rose to 55 percent, the highest nationally for any group of women (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1974). The number of Filipino wives working in 1960 constituted only 9 percent, but in 1970, 46 percent of them were in the labor force. Another major finding is that 27 percent of the Filipino women in the labor force are college graduates—higher than in any other group of women. All these impressive figures, of course, should not mislead the reader into concluding that Filipino women have "made it" in America. This is far from being the case.

Among Asian Americans in the 1970s, Filipinos had the highest unemployment rate, and only 5 percent of Filipino women nationally made $10,000 or more—an amount pitifully small for a group having the highest percentage of college graduates. This could only mean that a great majority of Filipino professional women in America are either underemployed or underpaid.

Hawaii has the highest percentage of working women sixteen years old and older among all the states. It has 49 percent of such women, followed by Nevada (47 percent), North Carolina (46.5 percent), Alaska (46.2 percent), and Connecticut (45.6 percent). The high cost of living in Hawaii is usually given as the main reason for the large number of working women; the husband's income alone is usually not sufficient to meet the family's economic and other needs.

The growth of the number of Filipino women in the civilian labor force in Hawaii has been rapid and steady. Only 22.8 percent of Filipino women in the state, 14 years old and over, were in the labor force in 1950 (table 5.2). By 1960, this had increased to 31.8 percent, up by 9 percent over 1950. In 1970, the figure rose to 44.3 percent, which meant an increase of 12.5 percent over 1960 and 21.5 percent over 1950. In comparison, the Chinese and Japanese female labor force increased only 13.8 percent and 7.1 percent, respectively, in 1970. On the other hand, the rate for white women actually declined by 1.9 percent from 1950 to 1960 and increased by only 8.9 percent from 1960 to 1970. There is no doubt that more and more Filipinas are being absorbed by the Hawaii work force at a faster and higher rate than their counterparts in this state.

What do these figures mean? It is probably more important to know *where* the Filipino women are distributed in the whole economic structure of Hawaii.

TABLE 5.2.
Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates for Women Fourteen Years Old and Older (Hawaii)

	1950			1960			1970		
Total	Population	No. in Labor Force	%	Population	No. in Labor Force	%	Population	No. in Labor Force	%
All Races	92,077	34,442	37.4	162,313	65,373	40.3	231,433	108,212	46.8
Whites	27,496	8,898	32.4	59,809	18,251	30.5	97,580	38,469	39.4
Japanese	49,056	20,506	41.8	74,618	36,503	48.9	88,129	48,113	54.6
Chinese	10,146	3,814	37.6	13,290	5,983	45.0	19,475	10,006	51.4
Filipinos	5,379	1,224	22.8	14,596	4,636	31.8	26,249	11,624	44.3

SOURCES: 1950 Census of Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, pts. 51-54, Territories and Possessions; 1960 Census of Population, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 13—Hawaii; 1960 Census of Population, PC(2)-1C, Non-White Population by Race; 1970 Census of Population, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 13—Hawaii; 1970 Census of Population, PC(2)-1G, Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the U.S.

Numbers are important, but it is equally important to determine what kinds of jobs the women have. Table 5.3 shows the distribution of Filipino women in the Hawaii labor force based on 1970 statistics.

Some of the highlights of table 5.3 are worth pointing out. Two major occupational groupings employ vast numbers of Filipino women in Hawaii—that is, clerical (25 percent) and services (33 percent) for a total of 58 percent. The clerical group is slightly smaller than either the Chinese, Japanese, or white, but there are far more service workers among Filipinas than any other group. There is apparently some degree of Filipina mobility into the lower levels of white-collar occupations in the state, but a substantial majority still consists of urban blue-collar workers in the modern "plantations"—hotels, restau-

TABLE 5.3.
Occupation of Employed Persons (Female Only) by Minority Status, Hawaii, 1970 (%)

Occupation	Hawaii Total	Filipino	Japanese	Chinese	White
Professional/ Technical	17.1	7.9	15.9	19.1	22.7
Managers (except Farm)	4.9	2.1	4.3	5.5	6.4
Sales Workers	9.1	8.0	9.1	9.1	10.5
Clerical/Kindred	33.4	25.0	34.6	37.1	35.0
Craftworkers and Kindred	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.3
Operatives, incl. Transport	8.0	14.5	9.9	8.0	3.2
Laborers (except Farm)	0.9	1.6	0.7	1.0	0.6
Farm Laborers	1.2	5.0	1.2	0.5	0.2
Farm Managers	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.2
Service Workers	21.4	32.8	19.6	16.9	18.1
Private Household Workers	1.7	1.0	2.3	0.9	1.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: State of Hawaii, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, March 1977. Based on 1970 Census of Population.

rants, department stores, factories—doing mostly unskilled jobs. Salesworkers are also growing in number relative to the other groups referred to in this discussion.

There is also a greater number of operatives (14.5 percent), such as skilled and semiskilled workers, compared to the Japanese, Chinese, and whites. Rapid developments in industries in Hawaii call for skills that Filipino women are apparently able to supply. Filipinas also outpace others in farm labor, suggesting that there are still quite a few working in the plantations and the rural areas. The mechanization of many of the plantations has reduced the demand for labor-intensive employment, but many Filipino women still prefer to work there. Nonfarm labor also employs more Filipinas than any other group mentioned in table 5.3

The percentage of Filipino women employed in professional and technical occupations—barely 8 percent—is very low when compared to other ethnic women in Hawaii and to Filipino women in the United States as a whole. It is also half of the national average of 16 percent for professional women. Table 5.4 shows the percentage of Filipino women holding professional jobs in selected areas of the United States.

Foreign-born Filipino women tend to acquire professional status more readily than local-born ones. Most of the recent immigrant women from the Philippines were already professionals when they came, and this gives them an initial advantage. They have also acquired the basic education necessary for further training in various specialized fields. These women flock to the US mainland rather than to Hawaii, which probably explains the low figure for professional Filipino women in this state. It is generally felt that more chances for mobility and advancement exist on the mainland than in Hawaii. Employment restrictions in Hawaii in relation to citizenship, residency, and professional requirements have also discouraged Filipino professionals from settling permanently here.

There are still professional or licensing requirements, such as passing a state examination or possessing an American degree, that effectively limit Filipino professionals, including women, from practising their professions in Hawaii. As a result, many professionals coming from the Philippines are overqualified or unsuited for the jobs they now hold. Some of them, therefore, proceed to the mainland where they think the job situation is not as tight.

Filipino Women and Ethnicity

In an informal interview with thirty women professionals, the majority mentioned lack of jobs and underemployment as major problems. Jobs suited to their training are usually unavailable, mainly because of the tight economic situation and the professional requirements mentioned earlier. It was only after

TABLE 5.4.
Filipino Women in Professional Occupations

State	Filipino Women in the United States (%)		
	In Labor Force	Foreign Born	In Professions
Hawaii	48	27	8
Washington	52	52	18
California	55	55	21
New York	71	73	56
Illinois	77	78	64

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population. Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC (2) - 1G.

undergoing a period of local training or going back to school that some were considered for the jobs they wanted. One said that it was the graduate degree she had acquired from an American university and not her Philippine degree which was considered by her employer. Doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, and health workers are the most affected by the professional requirements. Teachers trained in the Philippines have extreme difficulty getting certification to teach in Hawaii's public schools. As far as can be ascertained, fewer than five immigrant women from the Philippines have been able to get "certificated" jobs in the public school system. Professional women are often compelled to apply for clerical and other menial jobs which do not require a college education; and because they are considered "overqualified" for these jobs, they are often turned down. In many cases, immigrant women who run beauty or sewing shops or are employed as craftsworkers are better off in terms of income than professionals.

Two other problems were prominently mentioned —"culture shock" and "the language barrier." Adjustment to American ways and conflicting values between American and Filipino or local and immigrant culture was also mentioned, together with the language problem. Some of the elements of Filipino culture, such as the closeness of the family, the availability of other support systems provided by the extended family, friends, and domestic help, and the more stable relationships with friends, children, and spouses are missed by many. Western values are seen as undermining family values. A sense of being uprooted, dislocated, and alienated is consequently felt by some. One also noted the number of educated Filipinas marrying outside their race, mainly to Caucasians, as an indication of "the limited number of well-educated single Filipino men in Hawaii" (although this does not mean that this is the only reason Filipinas marry outside their ethno-cultural group).

Other major problems mentioned were the lack of educational opportunities for children, as well as difficulties in discipline. Exploitation in work situations, lack of access to social services, and discrimination were also mentioned.

When asked if they felt they had been discriminated against in any way on account of their race, sex, or both, more than half said no, ten said yes, and three were not sure. Most of the no answers, however, were qualified by such statements as "I'm sure I have been, but I never noticed it," or "I had the funny feeling I was not being understood."

Those who said yes mentioned a wide range of situations, such as "being turned down politely in job opportunities," and employers' "putting more stress on training acquired in an American context." One mentioned getting discriminatory treatment in a department store from, ironically enough, other women. Lower ranks and salaries compared to other ethnic groups (though one woman had the same if not higher qualifications) and being fired from jobs without cause were also mentioned. One believed that her "refusal to conform to the stereotype that Filipinos are subordinate or disadvantaged has worked against me."

Eight women said that being immigrants has helped them in Hawaii because they have bilingual skills which allow them to function more effectively in job situations involving immigrants and minority groups, and that being both immigrant and female is an asset in the context of current emphasis on minority and women's rights. Being Filipino has also helped one physician, because 80 percent of her patients are Filipinos. Six said being immigrant women hindered them, especially in terms of qualifying for jobs. A greater number, twelve, said that their ethnicity did not make any difference. Most felt that what mattered most were education and the "right training and background" for a job. One mentioned having capitalized "on my being an immigrant Filipina to work on community concerns," since Hawaii has a great number of programs, mostly federal, dealing with immigrant communities.

A Hawaii-born Filipina PhD said that discrimination is not limited to immigrants, but includes local-born minority women. She was never encouraged to be a doctor, lawyer, engineer, or an executive, she said, because women were considered fit only for the teaching and nursing professions. When she acquired

her undergraduate degree and could not be tenured because she did not have graduate degrees, she went on to acquire an MA and a PhD much later—only to be refused employment because of "the scarcity of jobs." The only reason she got her present job, she said, was that the recruiting committee believed in affirmative action and actively encouraged her to apply. She claimed that only after federal policies mandate equal opportunity, affirmative action, and minority programs are there attempts to secure ethnic balance in employment, although "in spite of the federal mandate, many employers ignore affirmative action or play games to circumvent it."

To the question of whether "the system" provided ample opportunities for the advancement of immigrant women, seven said yes, fifteen no. One of the yes answerers said that it was not really a matter of the system providing opportunities "so much as [its waiting] to be used. Those who can figure it out best in the context of where they want to go and what they want to achieve can use it best," suggesting that the system can be manipulated by those who know how. Another said there are many opportunities for professionals who can speak the language better and are capable of high-level work. Another answered in the affirmative, but stated that Filipino women must be prepared to put in a lot of effort and dedication. "They should venture out of the comfort of their own group and mix with others to understand American society in general and Hawaii in particular."

Of those who said no, a multicultural curriculum writer said, "One would have to be 'sassy' to advance in this society." Another said that Filipino women are not given the same opportunities as women from other ethnic groups. She claimed that so much is spent for the training of professionals from other ethnic groups. The others qualified their no answers by saying that (1) although locals are hired first, some highly qualified immigrant women should not have any problem, (2) a majority of immigrants lack training equal to that of the localborn, and (3) the system is hard not only on immigrants, but on everyone else as well.

Some "significant other" responses were: (1) the new affirmative action programs hopefully will provide opportunities, and (2) a person who shows great potential will have opportunities for advancement.

The interviewer probed the women's feelings about their own ethnicity, other immigrant women, and similar concerns. For instance, did they feel that ethnicity is a barrier to adjustment to the larger culture in Hawaii? Did they think immigrant women are comfortable with or proud of their ethnicity? What is the role of Filipino women's organizations in dealing with ethnic women's issues?

There were no clear-cut answers to these questions and some sidetracked them entirely, indicating other concerns. Twelve disagreed in varying degrees with the observation that ethnicity, in this case Filipino cultural behavior, impedes adjustment to society. On the contrary, one said, what Filipinos need right now is "a healthy self-respect to function fully in this society and this is one way of maintaining self-

esteem." A similar response was given by a young Filipina who thinks that "ethnicity is important in providing a very basic sense of identity which is the root of self-respect. You've got to make it known who you are and why you are where you are." Two others said that ethnocentrism, or the belief that one group is superior to another, and not ethnicity, is the barrier to adjustment.

Eight said that in any ethnic group's behavior, there are good or bad and practical or impractical aspects. These have to be viewed within the context of the larger milieu in which immigrants have settled. The question of context is important because it may have to dictate what aspects of one's ethnicity are appropriate for certain situations. In Hawaii, the larger setting is bicultural, if not multicultural. Accordingly, one modifies or should modify one's behavior. One suggested that Filipino women should stop observing the time-honored cultural values of *hiya* (sense of "shame," causing one to be humble and unassertive) and *utang-na-loob* (reciprocity or recognizing a "debt of gratitude") and learn to be more assertive. Another, however, said that one can be adaptable without losing one's traditional values.

Only three conceded that ethnicity is a possible barrier, especially if we take skin color or language difficulties into consideration. They also suggested that adjustment is a more important consideration, but admitted that it would be extremely difficult to diminish one's ethnicity. One offered the view that new positive attitudes toward ethnicity and womanhood would enhance the compatible development of several cultures within one person. She noted that the cultural traditions of even the earliest immigrants (Northern Europeans) in America are still well preserved. Another thought that all immigrants, men and women, must deal with this problem through total participation in the affairs of the host culture, in this case Hawaii, through being both "acculturated" and "multicultural."

Over the years, a number of Filipino women's organizations have been established in Hawaii for a variety of purposes, ranging from mutual help to cultural enrichment. Some of these organizations have been in existence for twenty or twenty-five years. Some of the interviewees indicated some familiarity with the activities of these organizations, and a majority said these are still preoccupied with beauty contests and traditional balls. A few mentioned some justification for these activities in terms of scholarship and community programs funded from the proceeds. The Filipino Women's League was specially cited as being the most service oriented.

There was general distaste for the "terno" and "Maria Clara" balls that two women's organizations sponsor annually because they are "irrelevant to the contemporary culture and outlook of Filipino women." In addition, the assumption that Maria Clara, the leading female character in Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* (The social cancer) is some kind of symbol for the Filipina is especially ironic since she was the antithesis of the Filipina who, in pre-Hispanic times, was the equal of the male and who, during the Spanish period, was an active participant in the resistance.

Some of the responses indicated that local-born Filipino women tend to play down their ethnicity more than immigrants. This observation, of course, does not apply to all locals. They are, however, more prone to say that they are Filipino Spanish, Filipino Chinese, or Filipino Hawaiian, even if their parents are "pure" Filipinos. (A large number of Filipinos *are*, however, of mixed blood, which is why many Filipinos have emphasized that *Filipino* does not refer to race but to a culture.) One tried to explain this phenomenon thus: "Local-born Filipino women have for so long been treated like second-class citizens in this state and country that they identify themselves as being non-Filipino. Immigrant Filipinas, on the other hand, especially the educated ones, are quite used to being primary citizens in their own land and have no fear at all of being identified as Filipino." It may be said in this connection that there is a strong tendency on the part of local-born Filipino children to deny or downplay their Filipino heritage.

And yet that heritage has not been without its proud moments, whether in the Philippines or in

Hawaii, where it has served Filipinos well. The use of Philippine languages and the retention of certain aspects of Filipino culture, undeniably part of that heritage, enabled the Filipinos to cope with the hostile conditions of the plantation era. They continue, even now, to provide them with the support systems they need in dealing with the demands of the larger society. Would it then be too much to assume that Philippine languages and culture constitute an often taken-for-granted resource from which Filipinos can draw strength in confronting the difficulties attendant to adjustment to a constantly changing environment?

6

Sources of Strength: Philippine Languages in Hawaii

Filipinos generally retained the use of their native languages, as well as many aspects of their culture, while in the plantations. Several factors were favorable to this retention, a development some view as a mixed blessing (namely, on the one hand, it isolated the community from the rest of Hawaii and hence, helped strengthen prevalent stereotypes; on the other, the continued use of their native languages and observance of customs and traditions was an important element in the survival of the early Filipinos). It is more likely, however, given the circumstances Filipinos were thrown into, that this retention essentially served as a basic source of group cohesiveness and strength.

According to Reinecke (1969), the Filipino immigrant group's large size, its short term of residency in Hawaii, the attitude of transiency held by many of its members, and isolation from the rest of the population made it possible for them to maintain the use of the Philippine languages, especially Ilokano. Before the mid-1940s, most of these immigrants did not regard themselves as permanent settlers in Hawaii, hence there was no strong reason for giving up the use of their native tongue. The plantation environment also contributed to the retention of the native language because it offered neither the opportunity nor the incentive to learn better English after the rudiments of pidgin had been learned.

The role of language was crucial historically in the Philippines. The Spanish colonial government made it a policy not to encourage the learning of Spanish on the assumption that the natives were not only "unsuited," but would be able to achieve some kind of unity to effectively counter the Spanish policy of *divide et impera* ("divide and rule"). Scattered in self-sufficient, separate communities at the time of Spanish contact (see chapter 1), the people of the Philippines spoke a variety of languages, a fundamental hindrance to political unification. The Spaniards, of course, used Spanish among themselves, but encouraged neither the use of a native language nor the spread of Spanish—or even some pidgin form of it—as a *lingua franca* and factor for unity throughout the Philippine Islands. On the contrary, the Spaniards encouraged regional divisions; throughout the colonial period, people from one region were utilized to suppress rebellions by people in another region. The consequences of this policy were immediately felt during the Philippine Revolution, when the Tagalogs sought to achieve some kind of national unity

against Spanish rule, but were hindered by the lack of a common language. This is perhaps one of the main reasons why the Revolution was initially regarded as a Tagalog revolution and was only later accepted as a national undertaking. It is, for example, interesting to note that to reach the ilustrado in the other regions, the Tagalog leadership utilized Spanish, and that most of the documents of the Philippine Revolution were in Spanish.

Paradoxically, in Hawaii, the fact that Ilokanos comprised the overwhelming majority of Filipinos undoubtedly fostered a cohesiveness in the plantations, a cohesiveness which was absent when there was a more or less equal number of Filipinos from the different regions of the Philippines. The crucial role of language in unifying the Filipinos in Hawaii in common undertakings is underlined by the comment, often made by former plantation workers, that the efforts of Pablo Manlapit, a Tagalog, at organizing in the plantations were somewhat hampered by his limited knowledge of Ilokano (see chapter 3). A mesmeric speaker in Tagalog, Manlapit's efforts at organizing, it is said, could have proceeded at a faster pace had his mastery of Ilokano been equal to his mastery of his native tongue.

The 1970 Philippine census lists no less than seventy-five Philippine mother tongues. On the basis of native speakers, eight of these are major: Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bicol, Waray, Pampango, and Pangasinan, arranged here in the descending order of native speakers of each. These major languages are all represented in Hawaii, with Ilokano having the greatest number of speakers.

Tagalog, renamed *Pilipino* in 1959, is one of the two official languages of the Philippines (the other being English) under the new constitution of the country. The constitution also stipulates that the National Assembly is to take steps toward the formation of a genuine national language (to be called *Filipino*) which will incorporate elements from the various Philippine languages. Linguists of the country expect Filipino to be the new name for a language based on Tagalog in structure and characterized by an openness to loanwords from the other Philippine languages as well as from English, Spanish and other foreign languages.

Cebuano (also known as *Sugbuanon*), despite its being the native language of 10,262,735 people, according to the 1975 census, lags far behind Tagalog in the number of speakers (55.2 percent of the Philippine population speak Tagalog). It is one of more than a dozen languages and dialects which are given the name *Bisayan* or *Visayan*.

Ilokano is also known as *Ilukano, Iloko* and *Iloco:* in formal literary writing, the term *Samtoy* is used. Because more than 80 percent of Hawaii's citizens of Philippine ancestry are Ilokanos, this language will be of importance to those interested in the Philippine languages in Hawaii.

In their study, Lasman et al. (1971, p. 92) found that out of 503 immigrants to Hawaii interviewed in 1971, 96 percent spoke Ilokano, but that 67.4 percent could also speak Tagalog. In addition, 78.4 percent reported the ability to speak English, although this varied in degree. The data in this study indicate a surprising rise in the number of Tagalog speakers among recent immigrants. This may be the result of the teaching of Tagalog, or Pilipino, in the schools of the Philippines. A recent bilingual policy that calls for the compulsory use of Tagalog as one of the media of instruction (the other being English) may lead to a larger percentage of Tagalog speakers among immigrants to Hawaii in the future.

Filipinos in Hawaii are in an environment wherein both the makeshift dialect of the plantations and a more refined, though still local, nonstandard form of English are used. According to Reinecke (1969), there appeared to be some difference in the response of Filipinos and that of other ethnic groups to the "creole dialect" (pidgin) of Hawaii. The other groups apparently accepted the makeshift dialect, but the Filipinos, because they did learn some English in the Philippines, tried more than other early immigrant groups to learn and use "correct" En-

glish. While it is used among Filipinos, pidgin is receiving accretions and other changes from Filipino tongues.

U. K. Das, in his *Terms Used on Hawaiian Plantations* (1930; revised 1945) listed twenty-three Filipino words. Without the terms of Spanish origin included in the list, the rest are as follows (the letters I, V, and T stand for Ilokano, Visayan, and Tagalog):

babai	'girl' 'woman'	(I,V,T)
balay	'house'	(I,V)
bata	'child' boy or girl	(V,T)
bayao or *bayaw*	'brother-in-law'	(I,T)
	'sister-in-law' or 'brother-in-law'	(V)
dakayo	'you' plural	(I)
danom	'water'	(I)
ditoy	'here' 'over this way'	(I)
ikau or *ikaw*	'you' singular	(V,T)
lalaki	'boy' 'man'	(I,V,T)
sabidong	'poison'	(I)
tao	'person' 'people' 'mankind'	(I,V,T)
tubig	'water'	(V,T)
tubo	'sugarcane'	(V,T)
unas	'sugarcane'	(I)

While there are common elements in the pidgin English of the different nationalities, the Filipino version can be distinguished by intonation, stress, and speech sounds, and sometimes by word order and vocabulary (Reinecke 1969). For most Filipinos who became permanent residents in Hawaii, certain factors made it possible for them to lose their native language speedily. The early Filipino immigrants were divided into two main language groups: Ilokano and Visayan. Language variety in the homeland had led the early Filipino immigrants to the choice of Tagalog, the basis of the national language, as a common language. Both Tagalog and English were formerly in use as the lingua franca of the Filipinos in the Hawaiian Islands (Reinecke 1969). The great influx of Ilokano-speaking immigrants, however, resulted in the replacement of Tagalog by Ilokano as the Filipino lingua franca in Hawaii. Since most of the immigrants have already learned some English in the Philippines, however, and since it is the language of superior prestige, linguistic assimilation is rapidly taking place, and the home language is fast being replaced by English or the Hawaiian "creole."

A factor that accelerates the rapid loss of the native language is the nonexistence of native-language schools for Filipinos. Unlike other Oriental population groups—Japanese, Chinese, and Korean—the Filipinos have not operated private schools where the mother tongue could be taught to their children. In most of the public schools, the Filipino children have had to learn the English language and, from their peers, the Hawaiian "creole." The use of the native tongue is confined largely to the home and is used solely by parents and grandparents.

The Filipino-language press and the vernacular clubs formerly helped perpetuate the native languages. Reinecke (1969) reported that eight Filipino newspapers, mostly in Ilokano, were published in 1935. Cariaga mentioned five periodicals published in English, Ilokano, and Tagalog. At the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection of the Hamilton Library at the University of Hawaii, there were, as of 1980, only one periodical, the *Hawaii Filipino News,* that had survived which at times used one of the Philippine languages, and a school paper *Ani,* published by the University of Hawaii Philippine Language Club, which printed articles in Ilokano and Tagalog.

The United Filipino Council has a listing of more than 120 Filipino-oriented clubs of various sizes in the islands. While most of these clubs have linguistic or regional bases, it has been noted that many of the meetings are conducted in English or in a mix of English and the native language, usually Ilokano. Several radio stations have had broadcasts in Philippine languages since 1933 (*Hawaiian Reporter,* 11/26/59). One radio station, KISA, has been on the air from 5:45 AM until 6:00 PM seven days a week since April 1973. Although KISA claims that it uses the three major languages—Cebuano, Ilokano and Tagalog—Ilokano and Tagalog, with English, are most frequently heard on the programs.

Filipino television programs, usually on weekends, are for the most part in Ilokano and are usually aired from one to two hours. One such program, "Filipino Fiesta," has been on the air longer than any other Filipino program.

Movies, frequently in Tagalog, are occasionally shown. Since the Philippine moving picture theatre, Zamboanga, closed in 1973, Filipino movies have been shown irregularly at various places.

Since the early 1960s, the University of Hawaii at Manoa has offered Tagalog, or Pilipino, language courses, together with collateral studies in Philippine literature, folklore, and culture. As of 1980, it was the only university in the United States that offered a fully developed program in Tagalog language and Philippine literature. Recognizing the predominance of Ilokano among the Filipinos in Hawaii, its Department of Indo-Pacific Languages began offering courses in Ilokano in the spring of 1972 as a service to the community. This was probably the first time Ilokano had ever been taught formally in any part of the world. During the school year 1978–1979, there were four levels of Ilokano taught. Cebuano, although one of the three Philippine languages most spoken in the state, is not offered at present. The only other institution of higher learning in Oahu that offers Ilokano and Tagalog is Leeward Community College. The University of Hawaii's College of Continuing Education once offered Ilokano.

Leilehua High School in Wahiawa is the only high school in Hawaii that has a Philippine language (Tagalog) as one of its regular language course offerings. Beginning in 1973, the program grew from an experimental offering to an established part of the regular language program. Adult education community schools at Waipahu, Farrington, and Hilo High Schools teach Ilokano and Tagalog occasionally in evening courses.

Linguists have developed (largely with assistance from the Peace Corps and the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii) twenty-one volumes of language texts, grammars, and dictionaries for seven of the eight major Philippine languages mentioned earlier (excluding Waray). The PALI Ilokano and Tagalog texts are used in the beginning language classes in Hawaii and in several schools and colleges on the US mainland.

Nine out of ten Filipinos arriving after 1965 came from the Ilokos region of the Philippines where most of the earlier contract workers originated (Lasman 1971). One of the problems encountered by the immigrants was the inability to use English. To give equal educational opportunities to the large numbers of non-English-speaking Filipino children, the Hawaii Department of Education applied for federal funds to set up an experimental bilingual education program in English and Ilokano, the first language of most of the Filipino immigrants. The program started during the school year 1975–1976, involving kindergarten to third grade (K–3) Ilokano pupils in nine schools of the Honolulu district. This is the first Ilokano-English bilingual program in the United States.

In 1979, Tagalog was added as one of the non-English languages in the bilingual program. In addition to its practical importance as the official and common language of the Philippines, Tagalog is of scholarly value within the framework of linguistics, literature, folklore, and Philippine studies. Since it has conserved more of the grammatical apparatus of proto-Austronesian than most of its sister languages, it is of major importance in historical and comparative linguistics. In recent decades, the importance of Tagalog in the United States, reflecting its dominance in the Philippines, has increased under the influence of several factors, most notably its inclusion in bilingual education programs in primary education and the establishment of Philippine studies programs in higher education. It is likely, moreover, that increasing numbers of Filipino immigrants will be using Tagalog as a common language, due to a recently (1974) implemented bilingual policy of using it as the alternate language of instruction in Philippine schools outside the Tagalog area.

The issue of language is, of course, highly volatile, and even in multicultural Hawaii there is a strong

tendency to argue that the straightest road to assimilation into American society is through the abandonment—or, at least, the nonencouragement—of the immigrants' native tongue. It is an argument which appears reasonable on the surface, but which upon closer scrutiny reveals itself to be only another variation of the idea that "natural selection" should enable the "fit" to survive. What this argument would have us do is to throw people from different cultures into a completely new and strange environment, prevent them from falling back on those mechanisms of adaptation only their cultures can provide (and which can, of course, be given expression only in their native tongues), and then expect them to be productive members of the community.

The preservation of Philippine languages among Filipinos in Hawaii has been an important aspect of their struggle to survive in the face of the social, economic, and cultural biases that have been directed against them for decades. Not only have these languages been modes of communication; more importantly, they have been the vehicles through which those aspects of their culture that have proved most useful have survived. And Filipino culture, it has become clear, has been the main source of strength of the Filipinos in Hawaii.

7

Toward Integration: Filipino Strategies for Survival

Filipino contract workers were confined to the plantations before World War II, mainly because of the lack of alternative employment opportunities in Hawaii (see chapter 2). The plantations organized their labor force into a system of life and work consistent with the aim of highly efficient production. They therefore had to discipline and acculturate their labor force to new conditions of work and to a new way of life. Like the Chinese and Japanese before them, the Filipinos learned to abide by the rules of plantation life; they learned to follow a regular work schedule rather than the self-regulated pace of barrio farm work; they learned to operate new equipment; and they incorporated into their belief system new medical beliefs, the use of new consumer items, and new ways of relating to others.

On the surface, then, it would seem that adaptation was a one-way process, that the Filipinos abandoned their culture and discarded their way of life in the face of the plantation challenge. That it should appear thus is primarily due to the questions we ask about Filipino adaptation to Hawaii. We have generally asked: "How did Filipinos adapt to Hawaii society?" This question shapes our answer, for it assumes that Filipinos were, and are, passive elements in a way of life defined by the plantation or by the dominant society. However, if we ask instead, "How did the Filipinos use the strengths of their culture to cope with the demands of their new environment?" our answer would reveal a broader dimension to Filipino life both past and present. Asking this question also gives us the opportunity to appreciate the desirability of using the strengths of Filipino culture to meet the ever-changing demands of living in Hawaii, for then we shall see that those strengths were utilized by the early Filipino workers in coping with the demands of their new environment.

Consider the situation that the Filipino workers faced in the 1920s and the 1930s: they were predominantly single males in their ethnic camp. They had left behind the barrio support-control systems that the extended family and kinship alliances in the Philippines provided. They met, in many instances for the first time, other Filipinos from various villages, towns, provinces, and regions of the Philippines. Many had come under aliases; there was, moreover, a constant flux in the camp population, as workers came and went, moving from one plantation to another or returning to the Philippines. Such a situation, in essence making them an aggregation of transient, single adult men, was conducive to social instability and disorganization.

In addition to the terrors of a new and unstable social environment were the terrors of insecurity—

terrors for which there seemed no antidote, for while these fears had not been entirely unknown to them in the barrios they had come from, there had always been the assurance of a way out so long as they stayed in their homeland. One could, while in the Philippines, fall back on the kinship support systems if one were too ill to work, and could depend upon one's kin to mourn one's death, should that be unavoidable. If driven from the land one tilled, it was still possible, in the early 1900s, for a peasant to offer his services to another landlord. And as for those occasions when one needed to celebrate—perhaps a baptism or a wedding—there were always one's friends and relatives to depend on in terms of a loan or a chicken or a pig for the feast. There were no such assurances in Hawaii, where there was, on the contrary, a greater fear: that of not earning the fare for the return passage home.

Sociability, the need to relate in a pleasurable manner with one's peers, was another problem. The plantation worker worked ten hours a day, six days a week. There was need for relief from such hard work—relief to be found only in companionship, or in being at one's best in a social gathering.

Security, predictability in human relationships, and sociability are basic human needs. These needs were met in the Philippine barrio by the extended kinship system. One learned in childhood not to trust those outside the clan until they had been incorporated into kinlike relationships through ritual. Becoming a *kumpadre* or *kumadre* (one's child's godparent or sponsor) at a baptism or wedding compelled the observance of kinship obligations. The ties of kinship, whether through descent, marriage, or ritual, are the firmest of ties among Filipinos. But these ties were nonexistent for the Filipino worker in the plantations, and the plantations did not provide any means through which these needs could be met. It was, therefore, the workers themselves who had to work out the means through which these needs could be satisfied. Initially they adapted to the new environment the outer symbols of the kinship systems they had left behind. They called each other *manong* or *tata* in Ilokano or their Visayan equivalents; although most were single, they called each other *bayaw* ("brother-in-law") or *pare* (a contraction of *kumpare*). From these initial steps, the workers sought the occasion to formalize their kinships through ritual.

Because those occasions were few and far between, it became customary to have as many as a hundred sponsors in baptisms or weddings. These sponsors were thus incorporated into one's kinship circle, for to be a sponsor was an honor neither conveyed nor taken lightly. The kumpadre relationship demanded mutual trust, support, and affection. It was through this relationship that near-kinship links were established among workers who had come from different parts of the Philippines.

Reconstructing Kinship Networks

Perhaps the most important factor that made difficult the transplantation of Filipino culture to Hawaii was the lack of women (see chapter 5). Without them, the family unit could not be built—and since the family was integral to the traditional Filipino social system, no viable community life could be established for some time.

Such a situation required a number of strategic adaptations, to somehow bridge the gap between the old and the new ways of life among the members of the plantation community. A social organization which revolved around the family and a self-supporting kinship system had to be transformed into one in which families were nonexistent.

By the 1930s, the Hawaii Filipinos had reconstructed some kinship networks in the various plantation towns. Although the workers were assigned to plantations on the basis of the immediate needs of each particular plantation at the time of their arrival, the HSPA allowed Filipinos to transfer to another plantation after having served the first year on the plantation they had originally been assigned to, especially if the reason for transfer was to join a kinsman in another plantation. In addition, after 1926 when the

HSPA ceased paying the passage of Filipinos to Hawaii, the plantation Filipinos would send their wages to relatives so that these could join them in the plantation.

The process of kinship consolidation in plantation towns continued after World War II. In the 1946 recruitment, plantation Filipinos were allowed by the HSPA to request their relatives for recruitment; these new recruits were assigned to the same plantations where they had their kinsmen. The 1965 liberalized immigration law allocated 74 percent of the quota to relatives of US citizens or permanent residents, thus enabling further the reconstruction of kinship networks among Hawaii Filipinos. In addition, all throughout the postwar years, the Filipinos who eventually remained permanently in Hawaii were generally those who had kinship support in their communities. Thus, one finds today among Hawaii Filipinos evidence of extensive kinship relationships. An indirect evidence of this is the congregation in particular plantation communities of Filipinos from any one Philippine hometown.

Such a kinship network proved adaptive before World War II. Living with one's kinsmen in a plantation town gave the worker emotional support, the assistance of relatives during illness, and the stability which came from the controlling influence of one's elders. Even when actual kinship was absent, there was always the possibility of creating a semblance of one. In the long houses or barracks where groups of unrelated, single Filipinos lived, the members of a household would arrange themselves on the basis of sibling relationships. In such an arrangement, the eldest, if the most mature and responsible, was by consent given the authority to impose order and discipline, while the other household members received authority, privileges, and responsibilities on the basis of age as in the Filipino family.

Kinship ties also proved functional in meeting security needs. The plantations gave long-term cultivation contracts to groups of men who would tend to maturity a field section of growing cane; many of these contract groups consisted of kinship, friendship, or ritual kinship networks so that the group members could give each other support. As common laborers, the Filipinos received wages adequate only for the needs of a single man. Those with families found it difficult to survive without the generosity and assistance of "relatives" in Hawaii. Some second-generation Filipinos who grew up in the plantation camps still regard as "uncles" many individuals to whom they are not actually related, realizing only much later that these relatives had been created by the need for kinship in the plantations.

Among single males, the years of friendship, kinlike relationships, and mutual assistance often proved invaluable in times of personal difficulties. Today, one can still see among elderly workers friendships which had begun in their early years in the plantations.

Hometown Origins

Besides kinship, the other important cultural element often invoked by Filipinos when outside their hometowns is the *kailyan* or *kababayan* ("countryman," or, more often, one who came from the same village, town, or province) relationship. Two newly-acquainted Filipinos even today will usually ask the inevitable question: "Where do you come from in the Philippines?" This initial question is often followed by other questions delicately seeking out common acquaintances, should it turn out that the other came from the same hometown. One's hometown ties became important in Hawaii; one's townmates formed a significant other one could trust, depend on, or in whom one could find the links of kinship that bound people in the Philippines to each other. In an aggregation of single males, it often served as a form of behavior sanction. Among townmates there was often the injunction not to behave in a certain manner: "We will be shamed. Other Filipinos will conclude that we have bad manners."

The hometown organization was a common immigrant adaptive institution in America, and it was common too among Filipinos. As in the case of

groups, Filipino hometown organizations combined social and security functions, serving as mutual saving societies *(hulugan),* or illness insurance societies, or death benefit societies. Today, many of the hometown organizations still incorporate such security functions although these may be of lesser significance to members now because of employment or governmental security provisions. Socially, these organizations sponsored parties, observances of the hometown patron saint's feast day, and other such events and provided status distinctions among those of its members who might aspire for elective positions in the organization's set of officers. While adaptive economically and socially, however, hometown organizations also proved divisive, for the Filipinos related to one another mainly on the basis of their personal ties to individuals and through the *partido* alliance, a nebulous group of individuals held together by kinship, reciprocity, loyalty, and friendship. The various alliances within a hometown organization, competing against each other for control, often splintered the organization or alienated individual members who did not belong to the particular alliance in power. To this day, many Filipinos in Hawaii refer to an organization by the name of the alliance leader in control of the organization.

Fiestas and national holidays were also observed, although in Hawaii these events were celebrated mainly for their social value of bringing Filipinos together. A far greater community-wide emphasis, however, was placed upon the celebrations of national holidays. They were seen as the most important expression of collective Filipino identity vis-à-vis other ethnic groups (e.g., Rizal Day). These national holidays were often celebrated with beauty contests, parades, banquets, dances, and patriotic speeches.

Major sources of social interaction and entertainment were sports (boxing and baseball), billiards, cockfights (gambling in general), and taxi-dance halls in town.

In sum, important components of the traditional Filipino social system—family, kinship, and community—were thus adapted to the new environment. The general observance of life-cycle celebrations and personal social activities, combined with patriotic events that were expressive of the pull of the homeland, served to reinforce ethnic identity and culture among the Filipinos. Coupled with the isolation of the Filipino in segregated camps which served to reinforce the preservation of their native language, Filipinos were thus able to adapt their culture to their new environment.

Using the Lessons of the Past

Some of the problems that Filipinos now face are necessarily different from those in the past, but a few still remain the same. Some of the solutions Filipinos have devised are ingenious variations of similar solutions in the past. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many Filipinos in the textile industries around Metro Manila came to work in the garment districts of Winnipeg and Vancouver, Canada. Often individually recruited and predominantly women, these Filipinos established fictive "mother-daughter" relationships whereby a Filipino garment worker who had arrived earlier would assist a newly arrived Filipino woman in adjusting to her work and her new environment. Similar networks also emerged in San Francisco and other mainland cities, as well as in Honolulu, among the new immigrants; these networks become the source of information about job openings, housing possibilities, and many other problems new immigrants have to cope with. In Hawaii, the kinship networks established among most immigrants in the past continue to perform such functions for many new immigrants.

The main problems most Hawaii Filipinos encounter now are economic insecurity as well as lack of economic and social mobility. The importance of using the strengths of one's culture may be seen in mobility. It is commonly accepted in the United States that the most important factor in achieving mobility is a person's achievement orientation: the individual as a child and as an adult must have incorporated traits which foster individualism, self-

reliance, and achievement aspirations. The Filipino child-rearing pattern, however, traditionally encourages the individual to be reciprocally dependent on kinsmen and friends, to underemphasize the self for the sake of the kin group, and to aspire for acceptance rather than alienation from peers by doing well in school and thus commenting on the lesser abilities of his peers. Individual achievement and mobility, thus, is often sacrificed for the sake of group harmony and security.

Interviews with highly mobile Filipinos indicate that the strengths of Filipino culture are being tapped for this purpose. One highly successful individual recalled being motivated to do well in school because his various "uncles" would reward him for good grades and constantly expected him to achieve. Acceptance and support by the family or by the extended kin group become the primary motivating factor among many of them rather than an internalized goal-oriented attitude. Translating acceptance into achievements, aspiring in order to please parents, teachers, or the larger kin group, highly mobile young Filipinos are therefore able to tap their culture's strength to their advantage.

This process is equally evident in meeting the financial demands of mobility. A Filipino doctor was able to attend medical school through the financial assistance of his older brother and two uncles. In turn, he is assisting his nephews and nieces through college. This is a basic barrio strategy: to invest all the family's resources in the college education of a promising child, with the expectation that this child would later assist younger siblings in their schooling. Regarding immigration as a mobility channel also, this strategy was evident in the earlier practice of plantation Filipinos who saved their wages in order to assist a relative with the passage fare to Hawaii; at present, many new immigrants are also being helped in this manner.

The kinship-alliance group as a basic support group is evident in the lives of Hawaii Filipinos in many ways (see chapter 4). Within the family, many Filipinos still expect the older sibling to act as a quasi parent, thus not merely instilling responsibility in the child, but also freeing the mother from childcare responsibilities so that she can contribute to the family income through employment. It is, of course, argued that this prevents the child from developing his own personality, or that there is potential conflict in the second generation as they are forced into such choices as fulfilling personal aspirations or meeting familial responsibilities, such as taking care of elderly parents. Enhanced group security, however, compensates for such liabilities. The value of the kinship system as an economic support group is evident in the way many Filipinos are able to purchase homes only by pooling the savings of family members for a downpayment or as a group qualifying for a mortgage loan. In small ways, it is evident in the reciprocal exchange of vegetables or in the process of buying a whole animal to be butchered, the meat being divided among the members contributing toward the purchase. Its potential is tapped in certain life crises; that the most serious crises occur in the cases of elderly men married to younger women from the barrio—women who do not have a family network in Hawaii—merely highlights the importance of the kinship network as a support group in Filipino adaptation.

This discussion should make obvious a fact which many Filipinos tend to take for granted: that it was on the strength of the Filipino cultural heritage that the early Filipino immigrants depended for survival, and that this heritage was their first, and in some cases their only, line of defense against individual and group extinction. It was functional in the past; there is every indication that it will continue to be so in the future. It will serve Filipinos well to understand that heritage, to nurture rather than suppress it on the mistaken assumption that it is a hindrance to personal and group advancement. It is a resource to be tapped today and in the future, a source of strength in meeting the ever-changing needs and problems that an immigrant minority necessarily needs to contend with, rather than merely a way of defining their uniqueness among the various groups in Hawaii.

8

Overcoming Stereotypes: Directions for Change

Filipinos as a whole have indeed tended to either deny their cultural heritage, or to see it merely as a means of distinguishing themselves from the many other cultural groups in Hawaii. Neither attitude has contributed to the attainment of the goal of integration into the larger society, and neither has helped Filipinos, whether as individuals or as a group, overcome the handicaps they have been burdened with since their arrival.

The denial of Filipino heritage (most prevalent among the third generation) while understandable, given the Filipino history in these islands and the prevalence of those forms of discrimination usually directed against Filipinos, is in many ways self-defeating. The loss of self-identity will not develop individuals who, through the perspectives of Philippine culture, can enrich American society by providing alternative life-styles. The abandonment of their native languages and their defection to the "English is a superior language" camp will turn Filipinos into monolinguals, thus depriving this country of part of its language resources. The loss of certain crucial Filipino values, such as the extended family and the alliance systems, will deprive both Filipinos and this country of alternative life-styles, a potential antidote to the alienative qualities and disintegration of the American family.

The use of Philippine culture merely as a means of defining Filipino uniqueness, on the other hand, tends to contribute only to the reinforcement of and even to the development of negative stereotypes. This attitude tends to express itself in terms of the outward manifestations of Philippine culture, such as its cuisine, its songs, and its dances. While these aspects of a people's culture are indicative of many of its assumptions, its view of the world, and the nature of its social relations they often tend to be regarded merely as curiosities, and as "proof" of prevailing prejudices.

Philippine culture needs to be understood by Filipinos themselves as a necessary first step in the development among them not only of a consciousness of their ethnicity, but also of the awareness of the important role they have played in the social and economic development of Hawaii. This positive group concept is important for Hawaii's Filipinos who have long been underrepresented in the technical, professional, and business fields, and who were reported by Lind to be at a relatively low income level in 1949 and 1959. This low income level has been attributed to the Filipinos' "late arrival in the Islands as compared with other immigrant groups, the high sex disproportion and the consequent lack of a stable family life, and possibly also less experience in a competitive

trading economy" (Lind 1980). These factors help explain, to a large extent, Filipino difficulties in social adjustment and their unfavorable reputation resulting from their supposedly antisocial behavior. The adjectives used to describe Filipinos, which usually refer to a lack of moral discipline, sense of decency and propriety, self-control, manners, and intelligence, are, of course, equally applicable to individuals from all ethnic groups. But neither this truth nor the fact that the social factors affecting the Filipino experience in Hawaii were different from those affecting other groups has had much effect on the attitudes of people in general towards Filipinos. These attitudes did not develop overnight, but are the result of many years of conditioning.

Carlos Bulosan wrote that it was a crime to be a Filipino in California in the 1930s; it was no less difficult to be a Filipino in Hawaii during the plantation era. Most Filipinos who grew up in the plantations are familiar with such epithets as "Filipino pokeknife," "manong," "bayaw," "bugadot," "peck-peck," and "flip," a more recent epithet. While the use of these epithets to refer to Filipinos (and there is no doubt that they were used in a negative sense, despite the fact that *manong* is an Ilokano term of respect and *bayaw* Tagalog for brother-in-law) may be explained away in terms of cultural misunderstanding—since the problems of language and cultural differences necessarily make communication among diverse ethnic groups difficult—the situation was not helped any by the deliberate efforts of certain writers to depict Filipinos in the worst possible terms.

Don Blanding's *Stowaways in Paradise,* a story for young people about two adventurous boys in Hawaii, certainly leads the pack in its depiction of Filipinos as essentially violent and untrustworthy. The villain of Blanding's racist t[illegible]is a Filipino named "Manilla" —a word which, spelled with one "l" refers to the economic and cultural capital of the Philippines—and his turf is the Aala Park area of Honolulu, which was, and still is, a haven of rest and recreation for many Filipino men.

Blanding describes Manilla as "a Filipino man, dressed in a loud check suit and a bright blue tie," who "runs that Aala Park gang." Filipinos are described as "quick to use knives," as "sneaking rats" who cannot be trusted.

This book was in circulation when the children of the first Filipino immigrants were in the primary, elementary, and secondary schools. One Filipino woman remembers it vividly not only because it was available in the library of the elementary school she went to, but also because her fifth-grade teacher read it aloud to the class during the story hour. The resulting damage to the self-esteem of this generation of Filipinos can only be imagined. The extent to which prevalent attitudes toward Filipinos were strengthened among children from other ethnic groups can be deduced from the fact that belief in "Filipino violence" is still a widespread prejudice in Hawaii.

That the negative stereotypes in Blanding's book are attributed to Filipino men is significant: it indicates that the author was aware that the image people in Hawaii had of Filipinos from 1906 to 1931, the date of the book's publication, was that they were male, dangerous, and intractable. This negative image was *not* unexpected, in view of the high proportion of Filipino men to Filipino women and its consequent effect on their social lives and sexuality.

The newspapers' practice of identifying the ethnic background of people arrested by the police or found guilty of crimes—a practice abandoned in the '60s—also played a role in confirming negative stereotypes of Filipinos, especially Filipino men. To many young people who grew up in Hawaii between 1906 and 1946 and who now hold responsible positions in government, industry, and business, "Filipinos" brings to mind male plantation laborers who would "stop at nothing to get a woman."

A well-educated professional of Japanese ancestry, in reminiscing about his childhood years spent in a plantation town, for example, remembered the stern warning of his parents that children should not wander too close to the Filipino camps lest something awful should befall them. He also recalled that young girls were told to avoid Filipino men because their

mere gaze was said to be sufficient to cause pregnancy.

As has been said earlier, this can be explained away in terms of cultural misunderstanding, and one can perhaps even dismiss, despite their terrible impact on an entire generation, Blanding's racist assumptions as a confession of ignorance. The learned ignorance of Stanley Porteus and Marjorie E. Babcock's *Temperament and Race,* published in 1926, cannot, however, be otherwise construed than as a deliberate attempt to keep Filipinos "in their place." This book was based on a study which was part of the work of the Psychological and Psychopathic Clinic of the University of Hawaii, and certainly contributed immensely to making racism in general and anti-Filipino prejudice in particular at least quasi-respectable in Hawaii.

In chapter 6 of that book, entitled "Filipinos," the Visayans are described as "improvident and shiftless," as lacking "planning capacity and foresight," and as people whose ambition is "to live as nearly as possible like the lilies of the field—without toiling or spinning—and yet to be arrayed like Solomon."

"The Ilocano," Porteus and Babcock continue, "is much more thrifty and industrious, but his planning capacity is rather near-sighted." Filipinos in general are characterized as "imitative" and "extremely suggestible." Their other traits are "pathological distrust and suspicion." They are "supersensitive," they "like to attract attention," and are "highly emotional, impulsive and almost explosive in temperament."

"The Filipinos," they continue, "represent a fine example of a race in an adolescent stage of development. . . ." They caution that "there is a danger not of undereducating them but of giving their education the wrong direction. . . ." They suggest a special curriculum:

> With a curriculum whose content should be practical and fitted to Filipino intellectual status something might be done to lessen the period of their social mal-adjustment. . . . It is our opinion that no matter what labels of citizenship we may put on these people they remain Filipinos, and it will take much more than a knowledge of the three "Rs" to make them Americans. To make the system of schooling too over-scholastic might be worse than no benefit at all. *The surest way to make a malcontent is to educate him either above his intelligence or his opportunities.* (Emphasis added.)

It is interesting to note that Porteus and Babcock pursued a distinctly racist and colonial argument (the Spaniards similarly resisted Filipino efforts at obtaining education precisely on the ground that education makes "malcontents"), and that, as university professors, they commanded the respect of the community. Is it any wonder that these same prejudices, though expressed in other terms, persist today, to the detriment of all Filipinos of whatever generation?

Like Blanding's negative descriptions of Manilla and of Filipinos in general, those of Porteus and Babcock served not only to reaffirm, perpetuate, and give credence to the myth that Filipinos lack the necessary qualities to succeed in this society, but also as an excuse for Filipinos who lack an understanding of their condition not to aspire for anything higher than what was possible for their parents.

Because of the negative image which developed as a result of the stereotyping during their early plantation experience, it should not be surprising that the Filipinos suffered from an inferiority complex and were frustrated in their efforts to better themselves. These frustrations were passed on to the second generation who had no difficulty in understanding these sentiments because of their own experiences in school, in the community, and in employment, where they soon learned that they were, more often than not, judged by their physical traits (race) and outlook or manner of behaving (culture) rather than by their interests, skills, and training. Moreover, they were often dealt with either paternalistically, condescendingly, or with great apprehension as a result of the community's stereotypes of Filipinos.

One could argue that the Filipinos and their culture have not been denigrated by pointing out that many

of Hawaii's people enjoy their food *(adobo, pancit, lumpia, bibingka),* folk dances *(Tinikling, Pandanggo Sa Ilaw, Cariñosa),* and their songs *(Bahay Kubo, Dahil sa Iyo).* This argument, however, ignores the more challenging aspect of culture—its value assumptions. "While many people can appreciate the folk, artistic, and culinary aspects of diverse cultures, their acceptance often stops at a point where their own value assumptions are threatened—particularly if it might affect institutions that symbolize these values" (Teper 1979).

No ethnic group represented in Hawaii has been able to escape being stereotyped (either positively or negatively). The Filipinos, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, Samoans, and Hawaiians share similar negative stereotyping. The negative stereotypes of Filipinos, however, differ from those of the other groups mentioned above in that in addition to traits that refer to lack of motivation to improve oneself socially and economically, there are traits that have to do with violence and the threat to material and psychological security. In recent years, the latter negative traits have also been applied to a group newer to Hawaii, the Samoans. Because the Samoans have only begun immigrating to Hawaii since World War II, those negative stereotypes are only now beginning to take hold.

Changes in the Filipinos' view of themselves as an ethnic group may be due in part to the changing composition of the Filipino population. Today, the Filipino population comprises not only rural, peasant Filipinos who arrived between 1906 and 1934 and in 1946, but also urban, middle-class Filipinos who have been arriving in increasing numbers since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. With the college-educated second-generation Filipinos born in Hawaii (who still comprise only a small percentage of the total population of local-born Filipinos), these newer immigrants, many of whom have professional, business, or technical training, are projecting a different image of the Filipinos as a group.

This changing image cannot be construed to mean, however, that the Filipinos are on the brink of full integration into American society. Overcoming an inferiority complex, adjusting to and relating with the first-generation immigrants who are continuing to arrive, and changing the attitude of society towards Filipinos and their role in the larger society will require more time. Rather, this change can be seen as an opportunity for the Filipinos, as one of several ethnic and minority groups, to become aware of the problems, needs, and the general status of Filipinos in Hawaii as a necessary first step toward understanding what is gained or lost when they try to "melt in the pot" (as other groups before them have attempted) in order to become "Americans."

It is important for the Filipinos who immigrated to Hawaii to work on the plantations, for the second- and third-generation Filipinos who were born here ("local Filipinos"), and for the Filipinos who have been arriving since the post-World War II period ("postwar Filipinos") to understand each other's

social, economic, and political predicament. This is essential in order to break down the barriers that prevent each group from aiding and supporting the other in matters relating to education, employment, social and political justice, and their integration into American society.

Many local Filipinos who, over the years, developed coping behaviors that run the gamut from noninvolvement, polite noncommitment, acceptance of the status quo, obsequiousness, sycophancy, to "I'm not really Filipino; I'm more Spanish and Chinese" have been strongly affected by the stereotypes of Filipinos they have heard in their daily lives and by the treatment they have received from people of other groups. And because the local Filipinos saw that they were rewarded (socially and economically), although often only minimally or in a token way when they behaved without "making a scene," these coping behaviors were reinforced. Their behavior, in turn, reinforced the stereotypes which then served as self-fulfilling prophecies.

The postwar Filipinos, on the other hand, who tend to have more education and professional and business training, fail to grasp the full meaning behind the attitudes and behaviors of the local Filipinos and wonder why the latter have not availed themselves of the educational opportunities that would permit them "to climb the ladder of success." Not having been in Hawaii during the early part of the century when the early plantation laborers worked without the protection of unions, and not having had to be apologetic about being who they are, many of the postwar Filipinos do not fully understand the plantation experience of the local Filipinos, in spite of their claim that they do. Many Filipinos (educated or not) often fall into the trap of thinking that reading, studying, and doing research about each other *necessarily* leads to an understanding of the other group's sentiments, aspirations, and perspectives, although one cannot deny that knowledge leads to better understanding.

The local Filipinos and the postwar Filipinos also have stereotypes of each other. The local Filipinos stereotype the latter as "uppity," "pushy," "know-it-all," "materialistic," (that is, they hold two or more jobs and work long hours with little rest), "talk good English with an accent" (for many local Filipinos speaking English that is not pidgin is interpreted as wanting to be considered better than the locals; speaking with a nonpidgin Filipino accent means that a person is a "noninsider Filipino"), "tight pants" (refering mostly to the men), and "clothes conscious" and "meticulous dressers" (referring mostly to women).

The postwar Filipinos stereotype the local Filipinos as "passive," "lacking in class," "sloppy dressers," "uncultured," and "lacking in depth." *Bakya,* a Tagalog term referring to wooden slippers worn by peasants in the rural areas, is another term commonly used to describe local Filipinos. By extension, bakya means country bumpkin, crude, low-class, lacking in manners. Although in the Philippines the term is used to describe *anyone* who happens to fit the term, whether the person is Visayan, Ilokano, Tagalog, Bikolano, and so on, since a great majority of the Filipinos in Hawaii are Ilokanos, non-Ilokano Filipinos tend to use the term mostly in connection with local Filipinos who are mostly Ilokanos from the rural areas of the Philippines.

What both groups do not realize is that, although their educational, social, and historical backgrounds differ, they are both aiming for the same thing: acceptance into American society (what all other immigrant groups have struggled to do with varying degrees of success and in their own way), regardless of the price they may have to pay. And in the process of accomplishing their aim, Filipinos of both groups exhibit almost the same range of behavior in the face of increasing unemployment and dwindling opportunities for professionals to enter the job market: avoidance of controversy, reluctance to raise questions that will displease their employers or superiors, acceptance of the status quo, and adopting a defensive stance whenever questions are raised about their actions or decisions. (This phenomenon, of course, also occurs among other ethnic and minority groups.)

However, it is interesting to note that the small minority of Filipinos who speak out on social, economic, and political issues and push for more citizen participation in our system tend to be Philippine born and Philippine and American educated. This phenomenon is important in pointing out the contrasting experiences between the local Filipinos and the postwar Filipinos: (1) the local Filipinos, who have the plantation experience, are underrepresented in the universities, and (2) the postwar Filipinos, who have achieved a higher level of education in the Philippines and did not have to overcome the self-identity problem and the stereotypical reputation of the local Filipinos, stand a better chance at producing leaders who are not afraid to speak out.

In the 1980s, the Filipinos of Hawaii would do well to reflect on their contribution to the economic development as well as the political and cultural life of the state, to assess what Filipinos who arrived at an earlier period lost, and what the postwar Filipinos will lose in the process of trying to "melt in the pot" in order to become part of American society.

The year 1981 could very well be the turning point for Hawaii's Filipinos if they dare to change the patterns of the past and the trends of the present, vis-à-vis their role as members of the larger American society. But this is possible only if they come to terms with that past and realize that while much of it might not have been pretty, there is little of it to be ashamed of, for the Filipinos, despite the obstacles and difficulties they have had to contend with, were at least true to the legacies of their cultural heritage in terms of their readiness to make sacrifices and to continue to struggle against injustice and prejudice in the course of their effort to fashion lives of meaning and significance.

Epilogue: Three Generations

Most Filipino families in Hawaii can rely only on a memory span of three generations: grandparents, parents, and children. This short group biography has had some bearing on the stability of the value systems, the interaction rituals, and authority patterns within these families. The dramatic differences between one generation and the next could be due simply to a lack of time, since traditions have not had the opportunity to take root, even as the social environment undergoes rapid transformation. A correlation between Filipino family evolution and the changes Hawaii underwent beginning in 1906, when the importation of Filipino labor began in conjunction with the islands' entry into the world market system, would provide a clearer understanding of the processes by which individuals and group units were molded into types needed and condoned by a particular society. Although limited in scope, this study did make such an attempt.

The particular subject-families we are concerned with here are all of middle-class status, with income derived from white-collar labor. They are, however, merely a generation away from working-class origins —and because of this, differ greatly from the urbanized, long-traditioned middle class in the Philippines, which gave birth to the intellectual stratum of Philippine society. This proximity in time to a lower-class status affects even the third generation whose expectations and aspirations are tempered by what appears to be possible: it limits, in effect, the extent of their aspirations. In a kind of reverse acknowledgement of these limits, the third generation is prone to extravagant fantasies of wealth in the future, coupled at the same time with fears of no future at all—"a house with a tennis court . . . travel, early retirement" vs. "worry about the bomb; one bomb and this island will sink."

The families maintain clan networks throughout the islands: first- and second-degree relations on both the paternal and maternal sides. These are kept separate from the families' social networks—that is, friends, church associates, and work associates. A certain amount of overlapping exists, but more often than not, activities with friends are distinct from activities with relatives. The latter involve celebrations of family anniversaries—birthdays, graduations, weddings, and so forth. Where an occasion could be a cause for both family and social gathering, two celebrations are held. Where this is not possible, the guests are at least divided into two groups, relatives and friends.

Responsibility for maintaining the network rests on the mother. Traditionally a nonworking, full-time housewife, she is presumed to have the time to keep

track of events in the family calendar, as well as the comings and goings of clan members. And since the home and the family are logically such a mother's main concern, her interest can, and does, include the entire clan.

Contact with the subject-families was established through persons of some standing in the community, known to at least one family member. The third-party arrangements could only be made if the persons so involved had enough clout to convince the family of the "correctness" of the project. In this case, the go-betweens derived their status from their profession: being University of Hawaii faculty members was unusual enough for them to command an exaggerated status with a Filipino.

The interviews were held at the various homes of the families. Where the generations lived apart, it was interesting to note the manner in which a guest was received. The older the generation the more prone they were to offer the guest a meal or at least "something to eat" as opposed to the younger generation's habit of offering "a drink." The younger ones tended to entertain in the livingroom while the older ones would gradually move a guest, with whom some familiarity had been established, to the kitchen-dining area.

One feature of the families' homes—of both the younger and older generations—appears to mark a dissimilarity between the role played by the Filipino American woman and her counterpart in the Philippines. This is the location of the telephone, a device for communication. In the subject-families' homes, the instrument is located within the kitchen-dining area (an American arrangement?), whereas in the Philippines' middle-class home it is usually in the living room or study. In the latter, the mother possibly plays a more supervisory role and can thus be found more often in the recreational/living areas of the house; the existence of a system of domestic help within middle-class means makes this possible.

The researcher's professional background and ethnic affiliation were both an advantage and a disadvantage. To a community in which university and college education has only recently been plausible, connections with an academic institution were definitely a plus. At the same time, the researcher's identity as "nonlocal" evoked mixed reponses from the older and younger generations. There were equal amounts of feelings of superiority and inferiority. And because the researcher was both insider and outsider, there was some confusion as to how to integrate her into the family structure.

Strictly speaking, the researcher was hardly a participant and very much less an observer among the families. The closest analogy to what took place might be the hour-long sessions one usually has with a therapist or confessor. And certainly, the relationship between the researcher and the families was a hundred times less intimate.

The parents, though Hawaii born, tended to use the traditional approach to resolve the problem that the researcher represented. The latter was transformed into an idealized "member" of the family, with the capacity to both understand and absolve whatever doubts were occasioned by decisions made and actions taken vis-à-vis the younger members of the family. That the parents would take this route out of this problem was indeed surprising: it hews very closely to the Filipino world view, which is based on networks of blood, marriage, and ritual kinship.

The members of the younger generation were more peremptory in their dealings with the researcher. They did, however, expect to be understood on their terms, not on those of the older generation. They shared with the researcher experiences and activities to which the parents are not privy. In other words, such things that they would normally share with each other. Perhaps the parents' view of the researcher as "child-member" had spilled over to the children themselves. In any case they were not squeamish about sharing their unease over recent immigrants (Filipinos) who were flooding the islands. This was a special problem for the third-generation Filipinos simply because they have had to contend with standards of success established or likely to be established by immigrants in the past, present, and future. This

exclusion was confirmed by repeated references during the interviews with the parents to the "rapid progress" made by recent immigrants.

There were other problems regarding ethnicity which were immediately clear to the researcher's view and others which were incomprehensible from the same perspective. More often than not, it was necessary to shift from one cultural perspective to another to thoroughly understand the discussion.

Processes

The grandparents, whether with the families or not, exert a great influence on the members of the subject-families. As pointed out earlier, these pioneers set standards against which their descendants feel compelled to measure themselves—or at least, to rebel against. These standards were extremely high. The setting down of roots; the establishment of families; biological propagation in itself was a near-miracle, considering that in those times there were hardly any Filipino women in Hawaii and mixed marriages were of doubtful viability.

The astonishing fecundity of these first families, despite the inadequate economic support from the plantations where Filipinos worked, was directly related to the culture that the grandparents carried with them from the Philippines. As has been pointed out, social interaction in this culture was based on the extended-family system. One had to have a reference point within the family (be a friend of a friend of a friend of a son, daughter, nephew, etc.) to be trusted. Knowing no other culture and stringently prevented from learning any other by the policy of ethnic segregation within the plantations, the grandparents had no choice but to recreate their native environment.

The language barrier also threw the grandparents on their own resources. Guidance and advice were not forthcoming from a society that spoke aloud in English, and, in undertones, in a polyglot of Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese. Upon these inchoate environs, the grandparents established their own social organizations, molding the surroundings nearer to home. It was therefore with justifiable pride that one subject-family could claim a fifty-strong clan of blood and marriage relatives. It might also be pointed out that the grandparents—seen as no-status work units to the larger Hawaii society and to the plantations—derived a fine feeling from having the respect of, and being responsible for, their children. The latter replaced society and gave the first generation a view of themselves they could not obtain from their interaction with other ethnic groups: the Filipino as a human being.

Thus, the parents, when speaking of their childhood, recall elements which appear to be no different from those common to all Filipino childhoods: the hierarchical arrangement based on age, the priority given to collective interests, and an identity based upon one's affiliation with a group. There were, of course, some aberrations caused by the times and the place. For instance, one father's courtship of his wife was actually expedited by *her* father. This could be explained by (a) the father's reputation for being hard working and "straight" and therefore an ideal son-in-law, and (b) the need to expand the clan as quickly as possible for maximum security and for prestige.

The succeeding generation, on the other hand, capitalized on the stability provided by the primal family unit and explored the social environment with more curiosity. One result was the gradual disappearance of the mother tongue in this group, to be replaced by pidgin and some standard English. The attempt to explore outside the clan and its protective community mantle (most of the families lived in the Kalihi area during this period) was not always pleasant. One member of this age group remembers how well received she was by the parents of her Japanese boyfriend, so long as they thought her a Chinese—"When they found out I was a Filipino, they wouldn't let me cross the front gate."

Such experiences naturally threatened the fragile value system within the family unit. The internal image of the members (feelings of equality, self-respect, belonging) had no external confirmation. As a conse-

quence, the second generation's viewpoint continues to hover between a Filipino outlook and an alien one. The first had no reinforcement since no information regarding the Philippines and Filipinos was available in Hawaii schools and media; the second was too humiliating. The second generation, therefore, tends to be "Hawaiian" on certain questions and "Filipino" on others.

The dream of the return voyage has been passed on by the first generation to the second. Although the parents (the second generation) were nearly middle aged (45–50), they still toyed with the idea of a return to the country of their fathers. Mention was made of acquaintances who, nearing retirement age, are preparing to spend their last years in the Philippines while maintaining their American citizenship. Questions were asked about the feasibility of such an arrangement. Perhaps the long-abandoned dream of the first generation was gaining a new dimension, due largely to inflation and other distressing processes in the American economy.

There was no way of telling whether these inquiries were serious or not. What was undeniable was the pleasure that the contemplation of this possibility gave. The parents invariably concentrated on the number of relatives—aunts and uncles tucked away in secondhand memory—they would meet. There were no plans to see historic or tourist sites, only those that figured in the family lore as the site of the original family system.

In this sense, despite the loss of the mother tongue and near-total isolation from the mother country, the second generation Filipinos retain a large amount of "Filipinoness." There was, of course, some vagueness as to what comprised this—not at all surprising, considering that Filipino culture itself, after the near-fatal dominance of American culture for nearly fifty years, took almost two decades to reorient itself. With the abysmal ignorance about Filipinos in Hawaii, the only explanation for the second generation's tenacious hold on their ethnic identity is the near-hermetic conditions under which the clan developed.

Thus, queried as to what was meant by the word *Filipino,* the second generation's response was "race"—an error they held in common with the other ethnic groups in Hawaii. The word, of course, had reference to nationality, since by historical accident, the basic Malay blood of people living in the Philippines had been diluted with infusions of Chinese, Arab, Spanish, Japanese, American, and so forth. But as a category denoting nationality, the word assumes a knowledge of culture and history specific to the territories and people of the Philippine archipelago.

This knowledge neither the second nor the third generations have, and consequently, their self-confidence, as members of a distinct ethnic group, is not firmly founded on self-knowledge. Consider the pioneer Filipino, his psyche severely damaged by and under stress from the defeat of the 1896 Revolution and the American annexation of the Philippines. Newly awakened to his identity which, however, was denied completion by American colonialism, he was thrown into an environment where the conditions were as bad or worse than those obtaining during the Spanish regime. Whereas he could resort to open resistance or to withdrawal from the centers of Spanish power during that time, in Hawaii there was no alternative except resignation.

Uncertainty was overt in both the first and second generations—probably more in the latter who has had to contend with the standards of two cultures. Their embarrassment, for instance, at the name *poke knives* was an acceptance of the dominant culture's judgment of another culture's feature (in some areas in the Philippines, the *balisong,* or "fan knife," was related to two desirable qualities in a man: (a) the skill to use it and (b) the courage to do so when necessary; it implied the existence of standards regarding human interaction which one was not willing to compromise).

The second generation probably suffers the most from this clash of cultural perspectives. They are not sufficiently distanced from the old traditions and yet cannot afford to ignore the demands of living in Hawaii. They share with the other ethnic groups the more prominent aspects of the homogeneous (multi-

ethnicity notwithstanding) American culture and yet retain a world view inherited from the first generation.

Their children on the other hand, have consciously opted for an American identity. They would classify their parents as "Americans" and refuse to see manifestations of cultural tensions within the family. Their life goals are expressed in the American terms of accumulation—"I want a house . . . and $100 thousand a year."—in contrast to the second generation's orientation toward achievement—"I'm very proud of how we maintain the good opinion of others." "My only regret is I was not able to go to college. Do you think it's too late?" One explanation could be that the third generation went through less open discrimination. Another, that the decision to be American having been made, the tendency was to ignore the unpleasant in American culture—Boy: "No, I don't remember any difficulty." Mother: "Remember that time you came home crying and saying you didn't want to be a Filipino? That you were an American?" Ironically, however, "American" is equated with the flotsam of American culture that has managed to reach Hawaii: disco dancing, dating, slang, fashions, and for the women, making it as *haetaerae*. The third generation is about as ignorant of what constitutes being American—in terms of political, social, economic, and individual philosophy: in short, the American world view—as the second generation is about being Filipino.

While the second generation suffers mostly from a confusion of standards, the third generation's confusion goes deeper. Having opted for an American identity, the third generation has to contend with the dominant image of American as white, blond, and blue-eyed. While the dark skin, pug nose, and smallness of frame is acceptable in day-to-day transactions, the ideal held by advertising and the media, an ideal equated with glamor, superiority, and freedom is Caucasian. Against this, the third generation has had to measure itself. Perhaps this is the reason why some third-generation women go through a phase in which they tend to overuse cosmetics, overlaying the dark skin with sometimes violent colors.

The men, on the other hand, swing between "local" culture and "white" culture. Most manage to become integrated into social groups based either in schools or work places. These groups engage in various faddist sports or activities connected with California subcultures. Perhaps, in this sense, they are American. The groups are ethnically integrated but local. Oddly enough, among the Japanese Filipino groups or Filipino Chinese groups, there is hostility toward Hawaiian or Samoan groups of similar orientation.

The attitude toward immigrants, on the other hand, varies. Some of the third generation ignore the immigrants' existence—"We didn't have too many at school so I had no contact with them."—some grudgingly accept their existence, while others view them with hostility. The latter attitude is premised mainly on the "differentness" of the immigrant: his accent, use of standard English ("putting on airs"), clothes and "rudeness"—this last referring to their refusal to remain "in their place" in Hawaii society.

A great deal of the resentment against the immigrant can be ascribed to competition—Mother: "You laugh at them, but just see who're the owners of the houses in those new subdivisions. Not the locals like you, but the immigrants."—in which the newcomer's work ethic gives him an edge.

More subliminally though, the hostility springs from the immigrant's obvious alienness. The harsh accent and the florid style recall a past which those of the third generation have barely left behind. They also constitute a threat to the fragile acceptance that the Filipino Americans have managed to force upon Hawaii society. Thus, the third generation's rage is not directed at specific individuals or to acts of individuals within the immigrant group, but at their "costumes," as it were—"They certainly look funny, going to the beach in those bell-bottom trousers and lying on the sand fully clothed and all. They really like clothes."

Having grown up with the reverberations of acute discrimination about them, the third generation is therefore inclined to fear the immigrants' obvious newness—as though this would awaken once more

the latent cruelty of Hawaii's multiethnic society vis-à-vis the Filipino. The fear is understandable, especially when one considers that the third generation's identity as American is not even as solid as they themselves would like it to be. In any discriminatory action against Filipinos, would distinctions be made between immigrants and locals? Would it even be possible to do so?

The second generation, the parents, on the other hand, view the immigrant with ambivalence. First, as has been pointed out, the immigrants—or some immigrants—have managed to open up professions hitherto off limits to Filipinos, and they appear to be, in the second generation's view, the realization of their father's dream of acceptance in Hawaii.

On the other hand, the educational/cultural equipment with which the immigrants are armed and which serve as "capital" in their dealings with Hawaii society are also an indirect indictment of the way the locals have been treated by Hawaii society. The alleged ignorance, stupidity, and refusal to study which, to the other ethnic groups, characterize the Filipino, have been proved myths with which individuals sought to justify bigotry and exploitation. Given this proposition, it has become inexcusable that the Filipino American, after seventy-five years, should be at this status level in Hawaii society.

Then, too, the second generation find in the immigrant the quality which the larger society has not allowed them to possess: the knowledge that they are equal. So, the second generation tend to look for the positive in those Filipino traits which the third generation find distressing—Mother explaining to child: "When they have parties, they really make an effort. They put on nice clothes, their Sunday best. They wear shoes. Oh, how beautiful they look. Not like the locals who don't take a bath, don't put on shoes. No self-pride. No respect for others!" Boy: "How come they do that? They look so funny in those colors!"

However, it cannot be denied that the influx of immigrants from the Philippines subjects both second and third generation to pressure. Partly as self-preservation and partly as acknowledgement of the newcomers' contributions, both second and third generations evince a desire/willingness to learn more about the Philippines and Filipinos, as well as to get involved in Filipino community and cultural activities. There is, however, a difference in their responses—in the sense that as far as the third generation is concerned, this ethnic interest is also American, a continuation of the *Roots* phenomenon, approved and sanctified by the white establishment. The attitude is more of dilettantism than anything else—"Oh yes, I'd like to visit the Philippines, look at the tourist places." "I'd like to check out the fashions there." "Sure, I'd like to go anywhere out of Hawaii."

The same casual attitude infects their view of their own history—"My parents were plantation people." "Oh, plantation, you know."—and the researcher is inclined to believe that the past is not available to these third-generation Filipinos in Hawaii. The glossing over of problems, so prevalent in Hawaii, was often disconcerting, such as the third generation's burst of laughter when the term *bukbok* was used for Filipinos. It was somehow inconceivable—as if Black Americans found the word *nigger* funny.

Interaction

The second generation, now the effective leaders of the family, keep the traditional family structure intact. Whether or not the first generation (the grandparents) lives with the family nucleus, they occupy a purely ceremonial and honorific position as heads of the clan. This does not actually involve the management of clan affairs; as in the Philippines, this task is decentralized so that the nuclear family units can manage themselves. Instead, the heads of the clan receive the respect, love, and tribute of the younger clan members. Traditionally, this would have involved contributing financially or produce-wise to the upkeep of the grandparents. Things being different here, the grandparents are self-sufficient at this point in time.

The second generation gives them their due respect and affection; to their own brothers and sisters, the

second generation also tenders their respect in accordance with the hierarchy of age. Since the families tend to be large ones, this was the obvious and the easiest method of organization, with the older guiding the younger siblings, taking care of them, generally seeing to their initiation into the world. Since experience was seen as the best teacher, the younger ones deferred to the wishes of the older. The father was, of course, obeyed absolutely until such a time as the children were ready to leave and establish their own family units. This organization was strictly maintained, not through coercion, but through subtle social pressures. Chores and responsibilities were divided among the family members. The father led the unit, not through superior strength, but largely through the almost mythic proportions of his status as father—Father: "I don't remember my father having to tell me what to do. I just did it, cleaned the yard or helped with the laundry. It wasn't necessary for him to tell me. I knew I was expected to help."

Sometimes the hierarchy based on age gave way to one based on achievement. An honor student, someone with greater educational attainment, or one who could deal better with the external world, would gain ascendance from time to time—"My sister was going to college then, and she was exempted from housework. We used to tease her for being a *senora.*" This dominance, however, had a concommitant responsibility: the "progressing" family member was required to help the younger or less self-sufficient family members, once he was established. With the passage of time, however, this value eroded, and, particularly in the matter of education, the situation became more catch-as-catch-can. Those who reached college age during periods of family prosperity went to college; those who reached it during less fortuitous times did not.

Nevertheless, speaking to the second generation about their childhood, one hears the familiar harmonious rhythms of Philippine family life in the countryside. The child became a young adult without violence to the psyche, and his growth through the years was attended by rites of passage that made pleasurable the transition from one status of life to another: the search for a spouse, the elevation to full partnership in relation to clan responsibilities, and the expansion of freedom from day to day. The need for a confluence of interests among family members through these changes remained. The elders' consent was obtained whenever a younger member ventured into a new activity. And where disapproval was felt by the parents, it was expressed and given due value.

The emphasis here is on continuity and harmony. The traditional values were taught by example and by pressures exerted by the community that surrounded the family—"I was known as the son of my father and that was enough introduction. My credit was good, as they said." The second generation does not feel it necessary to dissociate their identities from their parents'; rather, this identification was part of their "capital" when the time came for moving out and setting up their own families.

No doubt the second generation felt that this model of family life was good only for a certain time, for a certain kind of people. With their own families, they undertook a certain amount of liberalization, not knowing that the strictest adherence to tradition was barely keeping at bay the more powerful elements of the dominant society—"I didn't feel that my children should have authority over each other. It was enough that they loved each other." The breaching of one line of defense of the traditional family led to wholesale changes within—changes which, very often, the second generation was not equipped to deal with.

As has been said, the second generation maintains the traditional position of the father as absolute head. The traditional age-based hierarchy, however, has been abandoned for a more egalitarian relationship between the other members of the family. The children are allowed more freedom, and less responsibility. Yet, formally, the structure remains traditional; as a consequence, the lines of communication based on this structure break down whenever it comes to nontraditional activities.

To illustrate: in one family, a daughter got married against the wishes of her father. The latter's response, when the newlyweds came, was to refuse to

talk to the wife, to refuse to talk to the husband, to refuse even to be in the same room with the offending parties. Silence—"freezing" or indications of withdrawal—are very Asian responses to problems that have no reference point in one's culture.

Since the family members' interaction is framed by a particular culture, the family's channel of communication breaks down when the third generation begins experimenting with activities outside the cultural framework. In the matter of men friends, for instance, the parents have tried to implement a modified Filipino rule regarding distrust of strangers by requiring their daughters to introduce their friends to the family.

The third generation's response is to move this sphere of activity beyond the family jurisdiction—"No, I don't bring my dates home. What for? I don't want a fuss over something that's not really serious." The children do share knowledge of their activities with each other and conspire to keep their parents from finding out. It is not out of malice that this is done, but rather out of affection; the children, though already moving away from the culture their parents knew, would prefer to keep the illusion intact.

The latter do tend to ignore the children's lapses so long as these do not interfere with what they consider necessary—"As long as I'm doing well in school, they don't apply the screws." Even then, it is difficult for the second generation—to whom family life means harmony and continuity, and parenting means respect, trust, and obedience—to confront a child of this culture where the growth to manhood inevitably involves the overturning of the older generation's values and world view—"Everybody hated his/her mother in high school." The second generation does not have the cultural equipment to deal with rebellion within the family. As a consequence, their responses are not very creative: (a) hysterics, (b) freezing, and (c) ignoring the problem.

Verbalization not being a strong Filipino trait (in the family, the younger ones listen to the older ones who talk *to* them), the rational discussion of problems cannot take place. The traditional antipathy for confrontation makes this task even more difficult—"My father, he knew I was on grass. He must have known. No, he didn't say anything, but one day, he brought home from work this marijuana plant, a huge one, maybe two thousand dollars worth. Of course, he knew what it was. He must have known. He placed it on the dining table. He didn't say anything about it. It stayed there for days until it withered away and was thrown out. He must have known." Sometimes, the third generation takes advantage of this reticence to establish their own lifestyles—"I didn't really move out of the house. I mean, I didn't come right out and say I'm moving out. I just sort of moved out little by little, kind of getting them used to my staying overnight and longer at my friends'. If I had just said it out, I'm sure they would have refused."

Hysteria and freezing have had their onerous effects on the third generation. These are repressive devices in the context of American culture. While they enable the second generation to get across their disapproval, the third generation has no way of presenting their side of the problem, their reasons for becoming something "different" from the children their parents had known or had been.

The conflict can be summarized through these two statements:

Second generation: "I wish I had raised my children in the old way. Then they would have more concern for the family."

Third Generation: "I have to make it in America. I have to become an American."

Afterword

As of 1980, there was one member of the Hawaii State Cabinet of Filipino descent; several state legislators, one of them a senator; a Filipino mayor, a Filipino circuit court judge, a sprinkling of Filipinos in the various faculties of the University of Hawaii and other state government levels, as well as in the Honolulu City and County government, consisting of several councilmen and a high-level administrator. Filipinos were also in business: in banks and real estate, in travel agencies, restaurants, and construction. They could be found also in entertainment, in sports, and in theater, as well as in the professions as teachers, nurses, doctors, or lawyers, and in newspaper, television, and radio work. Also, as of 1980, Philippine-trained dentists could practice in Hawaii once they passed the state examinations, as per enactment of the legislature.

That those who have reached certain levels of influence, wealth, or prestige in Hawaii society, whether in the public or private sector, should be considered exceptional is indicative of the Filipino situation in general. It is, of course, possible that these "exceptional" Filipinos will be followed by others, assuming that the situation in Hawaii improves in terms of increased educational, economic, and political opportunities, and as a consequence of the improvement of the educational profile of the entire community with the influx of immigrant professionals and the coming of age of local-born, college-educated Filipino Americans.

The Filipino community in 1980 shared problems of employment, education, health, and housing with those other groups whose mobility has been hampered for one reason or another. In addition, the fact that Hawaii is a small state with limited resources has, together with those social, political, and psychological factors mentioned in the earlier chapters, served to hinder the rapid advancement of Filipinos as a whole.

Filipinos, who tend to be their own worst critics, have often blamed themselves for the persistence of these problems, one of the most common complaints being the supposed inability of the Filipino community to work together toward a common purpose. Evidence of this is found in the conflicts that have polarized the community into "localborn" and "postwar" Filipinos, into "the university group" and the "politicians' group," into radicals and conservatives.

This pessimistic view neglects to take into account the fact that these conflicts are indicative of continuing vitality in a community that has been constantly trying to identify issues, to examine events, and to arrive at an understanding of the Filipino condition in

Hawaii. In addition, to lament the existence of these conflicts is to neglect the fact that they are manifestations of the varied and multifaceted character of the Filipino experience. The variety of viewpoints in contention within the community suggests not only the complexity of that experience, but also how ridiculous, indeed, current stereotyping can be. The Filipino in Hawaii is a local-born Pearl City resident; he is also a Philippine-educated professor at the University of Hawaii, a doctor teeing-off at the Hawaii Kai golf course, a worker residing in Kalihi, a lawyer in downtown Honolulu. He is old and young; he is male and female. He is angry and sad; he is depairing and hopeful. It is his experience, in any of these situations, which is true to him, and to distil the collective truth from all these is a long and difficult process which may never be completed, but which can be, in the course of time, made more understandable, so long as the debates continue, so long as differences of opinion are respected, so long as the force of argument prevails, so long as the particular truths of each group's experience meld together into collective understanding.

Alfred North Whitehead said it succinctly many years ago: A clash of doctrines is not a disaster; it is an opportunity. And this opportunity should not be lost to the various voices in contention within the Filipino community in Hawaii.

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